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ARTIST BIOGRAPHIES

IN SEVEN VOLUMES

VOLUME II

ARTIST BIOGRAPHIES

MICHAEL ANGELO

TITIAN

BOSTON AND NEW YORK
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PORTRAIT OF MICHAEL ANGELO . *Frontispiece*

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MICHAEL ANGELO

PREFACE.

It is a work of greater difficulty than would at first appear, to compress within the limits of a *libretto* like this a just account of the life of him whom Taine ranks among the four immortals of art and literature, and whose years extended far out beyond fourscore, filled with incident and achievement. Twice the manuscript has been re-written, in order that by successive compressions the fitting limit should be reached, without doing violence to integral parts of the biography; and thus it is believed that the main incidents and fruits of Angelo's career are herein preserved, in fair detail. Several picturesque stories about Angelo, such as that in which he is reported to have nailed a man to a cross and left him to die, in order that he might paint a Crucifixion, are omitted here on account of their self-evident absurdity.

The authority on which this biography is based is the compendious *Vita di Michelangelo* (in two volumes), written by Aurelio Gotti, the Director of the Royal Gallery, and published at Florence in 1876.

Several interesting facts have also been obtained from Mr. C. Heath Wilson's biography, published in Florence at the same time, in the English language. In many passages Wilson's work is merely a paraphrase of Gotti's, and its author evidently labored under the serious disadvantage of a slight acquaintance with the Italian language, wherefore he has made frequent mistranslations, even in the case of Angelo's letters. I have endeavored to avoid these serious errors by re-translating the original letters from the collections of Gaye, Bottari, and Milanesi.

Other authorities herein consulted are the biographies of Angelo written by Herman Grimm, Quatremère de Quincy, Duppa, Harford, Perkins, Condivi, and Vasari; numerous articles in the Portfolio, Art Journal, and Gazette des Beaux Arts; the accounts of various travellers in Italy; and the opinions of certain well-known art-critics.

M. F. SWEETSER.

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MICHAEL ANGELO.

CHAPTER I.

Caprese Castle. — Angelo's Parents. — His Teachers. — In the Medici Palace. — The Platonists. — Flight from Florence. — Sojourn and Works at Bologna.

THE ruins of the castle of Caprese stand on the crest of a bold and rocky ridge of the Catenaian Alp, overlooking the wild and rugged hills about the sources of the Tiber and the Arno, and the great mountain of Penna della Vernia, Dante's *crudo sasso*, amid whose holy solitudes St. Francis received the *stigmata*. Within the walls of this old stronghold stands the Casa Communale, one room of which is sacredly preserved, and is marked by a tablet stating that therein Michael Angelo was born, on the 6th of March, 1475. His celestial name was given because the parents thought they perceived something divine in him;

and the astrologers demonstrated that Mercury and Venus were then in a friendly aspect in the house of Jupiter, "which proved that his works of art, whether as conceived in the spirit or performed by the hand, would be admirable and stupendous."

Lodovico di Leonardo Buonarroti-Simoni, Angelo's father, was in 1474 the governor of the castle, which he held in the name of the Florentines, together with Chiusi and the district of the Casentino. The family of Buonarroti-Simoni had been eminent in Florence, and claimed descent from the celebrated Counts of Canossa, in Northern Italy; a relationship which Angelo was proud of, and the head of the Canossa family in his day recognized. Ludovico's wife was Francesca del Sera; but the infrequency of allusions to her in after-life shows that her great son had but slight memory of her. She was then nineteen years old, and Lodovico was thirty-one.

When his term of office at Caprese had expired, Lodovico returned to Florence, pausing briefly at his villa, at Settignano, on the hills eastward of Fiesole, three miles from Florence, and overlooking the beautiful Val d'Arno and its queenly city, and the distant snowy heights above Vallombrosa. He

left his infant son there, in the care of a wet-nurse, who was the daughter of a stone-mason and also the wife of a stone-mason, so that, as he afterwards said, he imbibed a love for marble with his first nourishment. He was in his infancy surrounded by the implements of sculpture and the quarried blocks from the neighboring ledges of gray sandstone; and his innate love of design found expression in rude charcoal-sketches on the walls, some of which are still preserved.

Lodovico afterwards sent his son to Florence, to attend the school of Francesco Venturini of Urbino, the famous grammarian, whom tradition assigns as the teacher of Raphael, some years later. But even at this early day, the boy's chief delight was to handle a pencil, and to endeavor to express his ideas and fancies by that medium. He abstracted the time which should have been devoted to his books, and gave up all his leisure hours, for the development of this passion of his soul. Granacci, a wealthy and accomplished pupil of Ghirlandajo, aided the lad by lending him drawings, and he also sought the company of other artists. But Buonarroti had intended his boy for the silk and woollen trade; and as soon as he discovered that

these artistic predilections were likely to disturb the schemes for his future advancement, he forbade such amusements, and punished him severely for the inevitable disobedience. The pride of the family cried out against one of its members who should dishonor the Buonarroti name, and lessen its commercial revenues, by embracing the little-esteemed and scantily-paid profession of a worker in marble and on canvas.

But Angelo remained firm, through all persecutions, until at last the reluctant father yielded; and in April, 1488, the lad entered the studio of Domenico Ghirlandajo, the foremost painter in Florence, eminent for delicate minuteness, skilful perspective, and rich coloring. His style was founded on that of Masaccio, with the subsidiary groups in his pictures enriched by numerous portrait-figures of the famous men and beautiful women of his time. He was at this time thirty-seven years old, and had attracted to his studio numerous pupils, and executed notable pictures in the cathedrals and palaces of Tuscany. Angelo labored under his new instructor with intense assiduity, and gave himself no relaxation. Fuseli well says, that he seems to have had no boyhood.

Granacci still remained his warm and congenial friend, and so continued through life.

Under the guidance of Ghirlandajo the youth learned the technic of his art, preparing colors, copying drawings, and laying in the groundwork of frescos. He was not content, however, with simple copying, and often ventured to improve his sketches with original ideas. He once corrected a drawing of his master's, by a series of bold and skilful strokes, and so successfully, that when he was shown the sketch, sixty years later, he remarked, "I almost think that I knew more of art in my youth than I do in my old age." It is said that Ghirlandajo became so jealous of his pupil, that he tried to arrest his development by withholding from him certain common rights of the studio. He made an admirable drawing of the master and his pupils on their scaffolding, frescoing the interior of the Church of Santa Maria Novella; and when Ghirlandajo saw it, he said, "This youth already knows more of art than I do myself." He was told to copy Martin Schön's picture of St. Anthony tormented by devils, and adopted the novel expedient of visiting the fish-market, and studying the colors of fishes' fins, eyes, and scales,

which he gave to the forms of the monsters in the picture. At another time he copied a portrait-head so exactly that his work was mistaken for the original, by the most expert judges, especially after he had smoked it, and given it an appearance of age.

Ghirlandajo had but little influence on Angelo's style, because the youth was removed from his studio within a year, and placed in the academy which Lorenzo de' Medici had founded, near the monastery of St. Mark. Cosmo de' Medici, "Pater Patriæ," had amassed a vast collection of ancient and modern sculptures, paintings, rare gems, and other works of art, which had been further enriched by his grandson Lorenzo, the illustrious head of the Republic, and one of its foremost scholars and philosophers. Lorenzo arranged these treasures of art in appropriate galleries, which he opened to students, establishing prizes and pensions, and placing the school under the care of the sculptor Bertoldo, the favorite disciple of Donatello. The wealthy and cultured society of Florence, and her rare facilities for artistic studies, with the resulting achievements, made her at this time the most brilliant of the cities of Italy.

Lorenzo de' Medici asked Ghirlandajo to choose two of his best pupils, for the privileges of the academy, and the favored youths were Angelo and Granacci. The former had hardly yet learned the rudiments of sculpture; but Bertoldo found in him a ready pupil, and his first work in marble, a copy of an antique mask representing the head of a faun, attracted the notice of Medici himself, who suggested, however, that its teeth were too perfect for an old man. Lorenzo was so pleased with the skilful changes wrought by Angelo's chisel, and heard such fair reports of his diligence and genius, that he asked Buonarroti to allow his son to live at the Medici Palace, under his own patronage and care. The father consented, though not quite willingly, and received, in return, a position at the custom-house; while the young sculptor was assigned a room in the palace, and a seat at Lorenzo's table, as if he had been a Medici himself. He was, indeed, treated as one of the family and for three years lived on terms of the closest intimacy with its members. Lorenzo took a truly paternal interest in his young *protégé*, instructing him in lofty themes, displaying to him his unrivalled collections of gems, and giving him a key

to the gardens in which the antique sculptures were placed. He also allowed him a pension of five ducats a month, and provided him with a violet-colored mantle. Among the eminent men whom he met frequently at his master's table were Lorenzo's sons, Giovanni and Giulio, who afterwards became Popes Leo X. and Clement VII.; Bibiena and Castiglione, who were Raphael's dearest friends; Pico della Mirandola, the prince, poet, and scholar; Politian, the elegant poet and profound philosopher; and Ficino, the learned head of the Platonic Academy. Who that lived in such a society could fail to grow in intellectual power and vigorous character? The keen susceptibilities of the young Buonarroti were deeply impressed by those things which he daily heard, — the philosophic discussions of the Academy, the melodious songs of the Renaissance poets, and the heroic words spoken for pure religion by Savonarola. Here, then, in these golden years, the happiest and brightest of his life, Angelo learned to think deeply, under the guidance of the noblest minds of Italy. It were perhaps unwise to conclude that at his tender age (he was but fifteen when he entered the palace) he could have comprehended

the full meaning of the subtle and profound arguments at Lorenzo's table, but impressions were made upon his mind which afterwards produced the richest results.

There is a tradition that the young artist was deeply attached to Luisa de' Medici, the daughter of Lorenzo; but the extreme youth of both parties renders it likely that his sentiments were only those of admiration and respect. A more certain influence which acted upon him at this time was the preaching of the prophet-monk Savonarola, which taught him at once the religion of the Bible, and the patriotic love of Florence and of Italy. His brother Leonardo was so deeply moved by these sermons, that he withdrew from the world, and became a Dominican monk. Throughout his life, Angelo continued to venerate the memory of Savonarola, and to recall his noble preaching; and in his later years, his favorite studies were the Holy Scriptures and the published writings of the martyr-monk.

Politian was the teacher of the Medici youths, and was much pleased by the lofty spirit of Angelo, and his love for the beautiful and the true. He gave him valuable instruction in many ways, but

chiefly in long and familiar conversations, wherein he incited him to renewed labors in his art. He proposed as a subject for Angelo's chisel the battle between Hercules and the Centaurs, an appropriate theme in a community whose members were so devoted to classical literature. The resulting bas-relief, executed in the sculptor's eighteenth year, is still preserved in the Casa Buonarroti, and contains a great number of vigorous figures, intertwined in desperate conflict, and revealing already the sublimity with which in all his later works the master imbued (and sometimes overcharged) the simple elements of nature.

While Angelo was thus dwelling in the Medici Palace, and studying sculpture, he also devoted many days to the contemplation and copying of the wonderful frescos of Masaccio in the Carmine Church, — the same which afterwards so deeply influenced Raphael and Andrea del Sarto, and had already been the admiration of Fra Angelico, Botticelli, and Perugino. His emulous ambition forced him to work on steadily through holidays and night hours. His most careful investigations were given to the human body, whose every development he strove to analyze and comprehend;

and in this search a masterly knowledge was acquired. He had dead bodies conveyed from the hospital to a cell in the convent of Santo Spirito, and these he dissected with consummate skill and intense interest. The kind offices of the Prior of Santo Spirito were rewarded by a crucifix which Angelo carved from wood, and gave to him.

The youth's unremitting studies and productive genius soon made him widely known in the city, and awakened among some of the younger artists a feeling of jealousy, which was not mitigated by his proud and unconciliatory temper. He paid no deference to the famous artists then in Florence, Credi, Da Vinci, and Perugino; and mingled but little with his brethren of the younger schools. Pietro Torrigiano, one of his fellow-students, grew angry at his satirical dogmatism, and, coming to blows with the young sculptor, crushed his nose by a tremendous blow, and left him disfigured for life. He was carried home as dead; but even so severe a lesson as this failed to moderate his language and demeanor, which afterwards raised such swarms of enemies about him. Torrigiano was banished for this assault, and fled to England, but afterwards died miserably in the prison of the Inquisition in Spain.

In April, 1492, Lorenzo the Magnificent expired at his villa of Careggi. "In the bitterest of sufferings, and with the signs of fervent religion, that life was extinguished, than which no other ever was prayed for with more tears, nor in after-times became more celebrated." Amid the consternation which fell upon Florence, and was heralded by such a portent as a thunderbolt piercing the great dome of the Cathedral, Lorenzo's young *protégé* grieved deeply at the loss of his kind patron, and returned to Lodovico's house, unable to attend to his labors. Piero de' Medici succeeded to his father's authority, but not to his virtue and wisdom, and by a proud and vicious life alienated the affections of the Florentines, and prepared the ruin of the family.

In his studio at the Buonarroti mansion, Angelo labored for the next two years to good purpose. He purchased a block of marble, and devoted himself to carving a statue of Hercules, which stood in the Strozzi Palace for many years, and is now lost. He also made a bas-relief of the Madonna, in Donatello's manner, which is preserved in the Casa Buonarroti. The Taunton Madonna, now in the London National Gallery, is regarded as a

work of this period, and is notable for its pure Tuscan faces, and for strict adherence to nature, in distinction from the marked idealism of Angelo's later compositions. The figures are sculpturesque, and the drapery is vigorously portrayed.

Nearly two years after the death of Lorenzo, a great snow-storm occurred at Florence, whereupon Piero was seized with a sudden fancy to have a statue of snow erected in his palace-court. He sent for Angelo, and, when he had done the work to his satisfaction, insisted that he should re-occupy his former room in the palace, and his seat at the table. He was proud of the sculptor, when considered as an appendage of the palace, but spoke with equal enthusiasm of his handsome Spanish groom. Angelo was mortified at the situation, and disgusted with his patron; but he had received too many benefits from the Medici to turn against them now, environed as they were with dangers. The French army was crossing the Alps to seize upon Naples, and the Florentine liberals under Savonarola were preparing to welcome the invaders to their city, and thus to dethrone the Medici. Seeing, therefore, that ruin was inevitable, and being unwilling to meet it with

a leader whom he despised, he resolved to fly from Florence.

The self-exiled artist left the city, with two companions, and journeyed to Venice, probably on foot. But he could not remain there long, for his scanty supply of money was soon exhausted, and he was forced to take up the route to Florence again. When he reached Bologna, he found that the Medici and their adherents had already arrived there, in headlong flight, and filled its citizens with alarm. Angelo and his companions were seized, as suspicious strangers, and ordered to pay a fine or go to prison. The former was impossible, and Angelo would doubtless have been incarcerated, had not the magistrate Aldovrandi, a gentleman of culture and a friend of artists, inquired about his profession and situation. His sympathy was awakened by the recital of the captive's story, and he liberated him, and invited him to dwell in his own house. Here he abode for more than a year, and the magistrate was rewarded for his charitable aid by the society of one who could regale him at will with the dialogues of the Florentine Neo-Platonists, or the poems of Petrarch and Dante. The resounding words of these great men, uttered

in the melodious Tuscan dialect, and by one well fitted to such exercises by the ripe scholarship of the Medicean court, filled Aldovrandi with delight, while the conversation served to beguile the grief of the exile.

During his sojourn at Bologna, Angelo was commissioned to finish a small statue of St. Petronius, which Niccolò da Bari had left incomplete on the sarcophagus of that saint, and an exquisite kneeling angel in the Church of San Domenico, which Niccolò Pisano had commenced. Though neither of these works was up to his standard of ability, they (and especially the latter) called forth such praises that the jealousy of the Bolognese sculptors was excited against the Florentine boy of twenty, and he found it inexpedient to remain in their city.

He therefore returned to his home in Florence, and went to work quietly in his studio. For the younger Lorenzo de' Medici, who had the refined artistic tastes of his great namesake, he executed a small statue of St. John, which long since disappeared, though some critics claim that it has recently been discovered at Pisa. Another beautiful work of this time was a sleeping Cupid, which

Lorenzo persuaded him to send to Rome, to be buried in the earth for a season, and then sold for an antique. This trick was successfully carried out; and Cardinal Riario purchased the exhumed statue for 200 ducats, and removed it to his palace on the Lungara. But he soon began to suspect the hoax, and sent an agent to Florence, who ascertained that Angelo had carved the statue, and had received for it but 30 ducats, being unaware of the full extent of the deception practised, and without partnership in its profits. The agent invited the sculptor to return with him to Rome, and recover his money, offering him the patronage of the Cardinal; and this proposal was gladly accepted by Angelo, who departed for the Eternal City forthwith.

CHAPTER II.

Sculptures at Rome. — The David. — The Bruges Madonna. — Competition with Leonardo da Vinci. — Summoned to Rome. — Carrara. — Pope Julius II.

In June, 1496, Angelo first entered the noble city which he was destined to adorn with such grandeur of art and architecture. During the first year of his Roman life, the sculptor lived near Cardinal Riario, who was but little interested in modern statuary, wherefore his client remained in idleness. He however furnished a design for a picture of St. Francis, which was painted by the Cardinal's barber, himself a good colorist, but without the ability to compose. After his studio was established, Jacopo Gallo caused him to carve a Cupid (now lost) and a Bacchus (now in the Bargello), the latter representing a plump, sensual, and drunken young man, complacently gazing into a cup held in his right hand, while in his left is a bunch of grapes, which a boy-satyr is roguishly devouring. The modelling of this work is very

beautiful, but the subject represented is the merry patron of the Italian vintage, rather than the Greek conception of Bacchus. Shelley, with unnecessary severity, calls it "a revolting misunderstanding of the spirit and the idea of Bacchus."

A nobler work, and one more congenial to the lofty spirit of the artist, was the Pietà, which he executed for Cardinal de St. Denis, the French ambassador at Rome. This marvellous group consists of the Virgin Mary, sitting near the place of the cross, and holding on her knees the body of the dead Christ, both figures being exquisitely finished and free from exaggeration. The reverent mother gazes upon the cold form of her Son with inexpressible tenderness and a calm and mystic grief; while the face of Christ is benign and holy, even in the stillness of death. The anatomical truth of the details is remarkable, though the drapery has somewhat of the mediæval rigidity and stiffness. Angelo met the complaints of some critics, who held that the Virgin had too youthful an appearance, by saying that the perfect purity of her thoughts had kept her ever young. A cavilling courtier asked where a mother could be found, like this one, younger than her son, and the sculptor dryly answered, "In Paradise."

In this great work the artist fulfilled the promise made for him by his friend Gallo, that "it shall be the most beautiful work of marble in Rome, and that no master living could do it so well." It was placed in the French Chapel of St. Petronilla, in the old Basilica of St. Peter, and became Angelo's first contribution to the vast church which he afterwards built on that site, and of which the Pietà is still one of the noblest ornaments. The unrivalled union of true art and pure religious feeling therein awakened the liveliest admiration in Rome. Sonnets were written to it, artists made studies from it, and Angelo was hailed as the foremost of modern sculptors, and equal to those of antiquity.

The Buonarroti affairs at Florence were going on badly at this time. Angelo's mother died while he was at Rome, and his father had lost his office when the Medici were expelled. Famine and pestilence menaced the city; and the head of the family, yearning for the support and counsel of his gifted son, sent Angelo's favorite brother Buonarroto to Rome, to detail to him the sad estate of his people. The diligent sculptor had saved a certain amount of money, and appropriated it to

set up his brothers in business. His father wrote to him, expressing great joy at this arrangement, and saying also, "Buonarroto tells me that you live with great economy, or rather penury. economy is good, but penury is bad, because it is a vice displeasing to God, and to the people of this world, and, besides, will do harm both to soul and body." He concluded his garrulous letter by again urging his son to return to Florence. Angelo had taken into his studio only the youth Piero di Giannetto, who loved him and was very faithful. Living thus in self-denial and rigid economy, neglecting his own personal comfort and health, the generous artist continued to aid his unfortunate family.

Angelo returned to Florence in 1501, bearing back to the scene of his first triumphs the augmented prestige of his four years of Roman experience. Three years had passed since Savonarola had been burnt at the stake, and the memory of his holy death was still in every heart.

Cardinal Piccolomini (who afterwards became Pope, under the name of Pius III.) contracted with Angelo for the making of fifteen statues of Carrara marble, each about four feet high, for the altar of the Piccolomini Chapel in the Cathedral

of Siena. The sculptor was to receive about $2,600, furnishing his own marble, and promising to do the work over again if it was not satisfactory, and superior to the average modern statuary in Rome. Three years was allowed for this task; but the artist made only four statues, those of Sts. Peter, Paul, Gregory, and Pius, besides finishing the St. Francis which Torrigiano had begun. These statues are still in the Piccolomini Chapel, but are deficient in interest, and appear to have been executed partly by assistants.

The colossal statue of David was Angelo's next work, commissioned by the Florentine authorities, who gave him for the purpose a block of marble eighteen feet long, which a previous incompetent sculptor had deformed almost irreparably in trying to make a statue. He contracted to execute the work in two years, for which he should receive $11.50 a month; and immediately set to work, alone, and with chisels of his own fashioning, in a temporary building near the Cathedral. The statue was finished in January, 1504; and the admiring throngs of citizens who beheld it said that it was as great a miracle as if a dead body had been raised to life. A commission of artists, in-

cluding Della Robbia, Attavante, Roselli, Ghirlandajo, Il Cronaca, Lippi, Botticelli, Granacci, Sangallo, Da Vinci, and Perugino, decided that it should ocupy the place of Donatello's 'Judith and Holofernes,' in the Piazza della Signoria. It took forty men four days to drag the marble giant a quarter of a mile, from the studio to its place, during which rioters attacked it with stones. No injury befell the statue until 1527, when its arm was broken off by a missile thrown from the Palazzo Vecchio, during a popular tumult. In 1873 it was removed to the Academy of Fine Arts, in the old Monastery of St. Mark, by a railroad built for the purpose.

The young Hebrew hero is represented as naked, with a beautiful, pliant, and muscular form, in the moment when he attacks the Philistine Goliath, proclaiming, "I come unto thee in the name of the Lord of Hosts." The face is filled with an expression of inflexible courage, and is crowned by a mass of tangled locks; and the tense limbs, marvellous in their anatomical precision, are nerved for the coming contest.

In April, 1503, Angelo made a contract with the officers of the Cathedral of Florence, to carve

colossal statues of the twelve Apostles, being allowed twelve years for the work, with a salary of $10 a month, besides the cost of the marble, his journeys to Carrara, and the living of himself and an assistant. He was provided with a house and workshops in the Borgo Pinti, designed by Cronaca for the purpose, and erected at the cost of the Cathedral authorities. The frugal priests thought that they had secured a good bargain, but the artist was so discouraged by his meagre stipend that he attempted only one of the statues, that of St. Matthew, and left it half-finished. This is now preserved in the Florentine Academy, one of the first of that long series of unfinished and undefined works which the impetuous and variable sculptor left behind him. It has been commonly believed that Angelo labored in solitude; but this idea is erroneous, for he certainly had assistants at various times, and arranged for the employment of numerous sculptors, on some of his works. It was impossible for his hands alone to keep pace with his teeming brain, and it would have been well for the art of Italy if his irascible and uneven temper had not prevented the formation of a group of trusty and efficient assistants. Between 1501 and 1504

alone he had commissions for thirty-seven statues and reliefs, — a number far exceeding his utmost capacity, diligent though he was.

The Madonna and Child now in the Notre Dame Church at Bruges was one of the best of Angelo's earlier works, and is distinguished for its admirable drapery and perfect hands, as well as for the sweet expression and queenly gravity of the Virgin's face, and the easy and pleasing attitude of the Divine Child, standing at the mother's knee. It was presented to the church at Bruges by Flemish merchants of the Moscron family, and was seen there by Albert Dürer in 1521.

In 1504 the Florentine Government commissioned its now favorite sculptor to model a statue of David, which was to be cast in bronze, and sent as a present from the Republic to a friendly official of the French court. The records of 1508 say, "The David in the name of God is packed and sent as far as the port of Signa;" and from thence it was shipped to France, and is now lost. About this time, also, the master partly finished two circular reliefs in marble, representing the Virgin and Child. One of these, presented by an ecclesiastic of the Pitti family to Luigi Guic-

ciardini, is now in the National Museum at Florence, and is distinguished for the exquisite head of the Madonna. The other, made for Taddeo Taddei, Raphael's friend, was afterwards owned by Wicar, the French painter, and is now in the Royal Academy at London.

The Madonna now in the Tribune at Florence was painted for the master's friend, Angelo Doni, before the year 1508, and is in the conventional and sculpturesque style of the earlier schools of art. The Virgin's expression is unpleasing, St. Joseph is posed in a most difficult position, and in the rude and imperfect landscape background is a row of incomprehensible but admirably drawn naked men. The whole work is a type of the Sistine frescos, in powerful design and formal manner of coloring. It has been darkened and otherwise injured by modern restorers, and it would be unfair to judge Angelo in a work so much of which is not his own.

In 1504 the Gonfaloniere Soderini commissioned his two friends, Michael Angelo and Leonardo da Vinci, to adorn the great Municipal Hall with national pictures. Although Da Vinci was twenty-three years his senior, and had devoted nearly all

his life to painting, a department of art in which he himself had done almost nothing, Angelo boldly accepted the commission, and dared the inevitable comparison. He chose for his subject an episode of the war with Pisa, when a company of Florentine soldiers, bathing in the River Arno, were warned of the approach of the enemy under Sir John Hawkwood. While the trumpet was sounding the alarm, the scattered soldiers were dashing out of the water, and helping each other up the steep banks, and others were hastily dressing and putting on their armor. The artist's pre-eminent skill in portraying the human form doubtless led him to select this theme, as favorable for a display of his chief excellence, and insured for it a successful treatment. He was provided with a hall in the Dyers' Hospital at St. Onofrio; and finished the cartoon after his flight from Rome, in 1506. The two great artists were not on good terms, and the younger treated his rival with severe discourtesy.

Leonardo, fresh from his ten years of honorable service at Milan, where he had painted 'The Last Supper,' engaged in this contest with great earnestness. He illustrated a rencontre of cavalry at the

battle of Anghiari, where the Florentines had defeated the Milanese in 1440; and partly executed it in an attempt at the revival of the ancient encaustic painting, which caused it to perish within fifty years. Neither of these great works was ever finished in the Municipal Hall, and, the cartoons having disappeared, only unsatisfactory reminiscences of them remain to our days.

Benvenuto Cellini said that "While these cartoons thus hung opposite to each other [in the Medici Palace], they formed the school of the world." Raphael, Andrea del Sarto, Baccio Bandinelli, Sansovino, Perino del Vaga, and other renowned artists made studies from them, and were filled with admiration for these culminating glories of Tuscan art. During the revolution of 1512, when the Medici were recalled, some one entered the hall where Angelo's cartoon was hung, and cut it to pieces; and Vasari says that Baccio Bandinelli, the deadly foe of the artist, was the perpetrator of the outrage. Sixty years later, several fragments of this great work were in the hands of the Strozzi family, of Mantua, but they have long since disappeared.

Early in the year 1505, Angelo was summoned

to Rome by Pope Julius II., that noble prince who was at once valiant in war and most liberal in his patronage of literature and the arts. Nothing but the magnificent offers of such a patron, and the fascinating power of Rome itself, could have induced the master to leave a city which was then the great centre of the arts and the home of their admirers, and where he himself was overwhelmed with lucrative and honorable commissions. Julius and Angelo were men of similar character, proud and arrogant, energetic and wilful, yet magnanimous, honest, and resolute. They were continually distrusting each other and quarrelling, and yet as often sought and obtained reconciliation by means of free and frank concessions, holding towards each other a profound esteem and a rugged sort of love. Angelo was the only man who ventured to controvert the martial prelate; and, although his opposition was almost always overborne, he submitted under protest.

The Pope's first commission to his sculptor, and one which involved him in countless embarrassments and anxieties for over forty years, was for a grand mausoleum, in which Julius himself should be placed after death. The plans of this monu-

ment were drawn by Angelo, and provided for a structure covering eight hundred square feet, and three stories high, detached on all sides, with terminal figures at the ends, sixteen statues of the captive liberal arts, and ten statues of Victory treading upon conquered provinces; all these on the lower story, and over the second the sarcophagus of the Pontiff, with his statue and attendant angels, and numerous other statues of prophets and apostles and cherubs. "It will cost a hundred thousand crowns," said Angelo. "It may be twice that sum," answered the Pope. This vast and sumptuous pile, rich in its pagan allegories, was destined for a place in St. Peter's; and when it was found that that venerable basilica could not contain so great a work, Bramante advised the Pope to build the apse which Nicholas V. had left unfinished. But Julius had conceived a grander scheme, and resolved to pull down the whole church, and rebuild it in greater splendor and extent. He ordered several architects to prepare designs, and selected that which Bramante had made, a decision highly approved by Angelo also, who ranked its author as equal to any architect of modern times — howbeit Bramante injured him seriously by a bitter enmity,

Julius commanded the destruction of the ancient basilica, with its monuments of eighty-seven popes, that on the desert thus made he might rear his own proud mausoleum; and it was a just retribution that such vandalism was punished by ultimate mortification.

In April Angelo journeyed to the marble-quarries at Carrara, where he remained for eight months, selecting blocks of stone fit for his new works at Rome, and having them hewn into shape. He also made an abortive design for converting one of the rocky peaks of the Carrara range into a colossal figure, to be visible by mariners far out at sea. During this sojourn he was attended by two servants, and kept a pair of horses. He went from the quarries to Lavagna, a port on the Genoese Riviera, and freighted his marble thence by sea, in vessels which bore it up the Tiber to Rome.

Returning from Carrara to Florence, after remaining there a short time, Angelo pursued his journey to Rome. The marble was placed in the square behind St. Peter's, and appeared to the people enough to build a temple, rather than a tomb. The sculptor was domiciled in a house between the Vatican and the Castle of St. Angelo, near the

covered way which connects the palace and the fortress; and the Pope had a bridge built thence to the studio. By this means he frequently visited the scene of Angelo's labors, and treated the artist as a familiar friend, perhaps not altogether to his taste, since he always preferred to work without supervision.

The ancient statue of the Dying Gladiator was discovered in the Gardens of Sallust, and its missing right arm was restored by Angelo. The celebrated group of the Laocoön was found in 1506, near the Baths of Titus, and repaired by Montorsol, one of Angelo's pupils, who also made the left hand of the Apollo Belvedere, discovered near Porto d'Anzio, in 1503. Della Porta also restored the missing legs of the Farnese Hercules, found in the Baths of Caracalla. It is said that Angelo added some of the lost parts to the Laocoön, the Satyr, and other mutilated antiques, but there is room for doubt as to the accuracy of this statement.

CHAPTER III.

Angelo's Flight. — The Reconciliation. — Julius II.'s Statue at Bologna. — The Frescos in the Sistine Chapel.

SUDDENLY the demeanor of the Pope altered, and he ceased his intimacy with Angelo, and closed the Vatican against him. Vasari says that Bramante was the cause of the change, having been aroused to jealousy by the success and the vigilant scrutiny of the new-comer, wherefore he told the Pope that it was an evil augury to build his monument in his life-time. He also advised Julius to employ Angelo to paint the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, believing that he would fail disastrously.

Angry at his exclusion from the palace, and at the ill-treatment which he met from his patron, Angelo determined to abandon Julius, and to flee to Florence. He paid the sailors for the last shipment of Carrara marble, from his own purse, and left orders to sell to the Jews all the furniture of his house. He told the Papal courtiers, "When

the Pope wants me, he must seek me elsewhere than in Rome." Then he left the city secretly, and fled northward at a terrific rate of speed, so that he outrode no less than five Papal couriers, who were successively despatched with letters recalling him. Galloping over the broad Campagna to Ronciglione, he crossed the Ciminian hills to Montefiascone, and skirted the Lake of Bolsena for many miles. Then his route ascended the lofty pass of Radicofani, and passed through Siena to the town of Poggibonsi, in the domains of Florence, where he was safe from the Papal authority, and rested briefly, after his tremendous gallop of 130 miles. The distanced couriers now overtook him, and he sent them back with this haughty answer, "That he never would return; that his good and faithful service did not merit such reward, to be chased away like a perverse fellow; and since His Holiness would give no more heed to his monument, he was freed from obligation, and would not bind himself to any 'hing else."

The irate sculptor continued his journey to Florence, whither fresh messages were conveyed, promising to receive him well and keep him from

harm if he should return, and engaging to advance money as fast as it was needed. Angelo answered promptly, recapitulating his grievances, and stating that he had been informed that his own sepulchre would be made before the Pope's. Another letter, however, from Roselli, came to trouble Angelo, by showing how active his enemies were. It reads thus: "Dear as a brother, I have to inform thee that on Saturday evening the Pope, being at supper, summoned Bramante, and said to him: 'Sangallo goes to-morrow to Florence, and will bring back Michael Angelo.' Bramante replied to the Pope, and said: 'Holy Father, he will not come, for I am intimate with Michael Angelo, and he has said repeatedly to me that he did not wish to attend to the chapel, and that you wished to give him this charge; and that nevertheless he did not wish to serve you, unless with the sepulchre, and not in painting.' And he also added: 'Holy Father, I believe that he has not the courage, for he has not done much in figures, and especially figures that are high and foreshortened, which is another thing from painting on the ground.' Then the Pope answered and said: 'If he comes not, he does me wrong, for I believe that he will cer-

tainly return.' At that moment I advanced and gave Bramante a sound berating, the Pope being present; and said that which I believe you would have said for me; yet he did not know how to answer, and seemed to think he had spoken badly. And I told him, also: 'Holy Father, he never spoke to Michael Angelo, and as to that which he has now said, if it be true, you may cut off my head, for he never spoke to Michael Angelo; and I believe that he will surely return when Your Holiness wishes.' And here the matter ended."

While at Florence, Angelo was invited by the Turkish Sultan, Bajazet II., to enter his service, and to build a bridge across the Golden Horn, between Constantinople and Pera. The Sultan sent a large letter of credit, and offered him an escort of janissaries through the Turkish dominions. Though Soderini told him that he would make a better choice "to die, siding with the Pope, than to live, passing over to the Turk," he fully intended to fly to the Moslems if Florence should turn him out.

In May, 1506, he went to Carrara, to look after the marble which he had selected for the mausoleum. The remainder of his time at Florence was spent in working on the unfinished cartoon. Dur-

ing this spring-time, Julius II. founded the new St. Peter's Church, at Rome, in whose construction the master afterwards bore so prominent a part.

The Pope not only employed the good offices of friends to recall his recalcitrant sculptor, but also sent three briefs to the Florentine Government, demanding that he should be forced to return, if persuasion failed. Soderini, the head of the Republic, felt a certain danger attending the neglect of the mandates of so warlike a prince-prelate, and said to Angelo: "Thou hast tried an experiment with the Pope which the King of France would not have ventured on, but the time for entreaty is past. We will not go to war with him on thy account, nor expose our State to risk; so prepare thyself to return."

Angelo's estimate of the effect of Julius II.'s government in Rome is seen in one of his sonnets:

"Here helms and swords are made of chalices:
The blood of Christ is sold so much the quart:
His cross and thorns are spears and shields; and short
Must be the time ere even His patience cease.

. . . . . .

But of that better life what hope have we
When the blest banner leads to nought but ill."

The advance of the Papal army to Bologna was one of the most picturesque events of the Middle Ages. The Roman army was composed of a strong force of men-at-arms and infantry, headed by the nobles of the ancient historic families, and attended by the Pope and twenty-four cardinals, with their brilliant retinues. Their march followed the Tiber across the desolate Campagna to Orvieto, and thence through the hills to Perugia, where the tyrant Baglione was reduced to submission, and forced to give a contingent of troops. Defiling through the mountains for many days, they occupied Imola, and thence, being joined by French auxiliaries, moved against Bologna. Bentivoglio fled from the city, and the Pope entered in triumph, after a campaign of eleven weeks.

One of the Pope's first cares, after this conquering march, was to have Angelo brought back to his service; and he ordered the Cardinal of Pavia to write to Florence, promising him both safety and emolument. The sculptor resolved to seek the Papal court, "with a halter round his neck," as he said, being desirous to return to Rome, and also to deliver Florence from the danger which she incurred on his account. He took a letter from the

Gonfaloniere Soderini to his brother, the Cardinal of Volterra, in which it is said: "The bearer is Michael Angelo, sculptor, who is sent to please and satisfy His Holiness, our Lord. We certify to you that he is an excellent young man, and in his profession unequalled in Italy, perhaps in the whole world. We cannot too earnestly commend him. He is of such a disposition that, if he is kindly bespoken and well treated, he will do every thing. It is needful to show him affection and favor, and he in return will do works which will astonish all who see them. . . . The said Michael Angelo proceeds upon the pledge of our faith."

Angelo's first care, upon arriving at Bologna, was to attend mass at the Church of St. Petronius, where he was recognized by the Papal grooms, and persuaded to wait immediately upon the Pope. Julius was at table, but, ordering that the visitor should be brought in, said to him, with austere courtesy, "Thou hast come to seek us, and thou didst expect that we should seek thee." Angelo knelt, and craved pardon, saying that he had fled, not from malignity, but in the passion which he felt at being expelled from the Papal presence. While the Pope sat silent and angry, the bishop whom

Cardinal Soderini had sent to intercede for the sculptor exclaimed, "Your Holiness, do not consider his fault, because he erred through ignorance. Painters are always so, outside of their art." Whereupon the Pope poured out his pent-up wrath on the intercessor's head, saying, "Thou insultest him, which we have not done. Thou thyself art the ignorant and the rascally one, and not he. Leave our presence." The unfortunate official was driven out, with blows, and the Pontiff received Angelo to his favor again, and desired him to remain in Bologna.

Soon afterwards Julius commissioned him to make a bronze statue of himself, fourteen feet high, to be placed before the Church of St. Petronius, saying that he would pay for it liberally. He immediately set to work, in the hall of the Pavaglione, behind the church, where he welcomed several visits from his great patron. His life in Bologna was not luxurious, for he rented a wretched room to live in, and had but one bed for himself and his three Florentine assistants. He could not receive his brother Giovan Simone, who often wished to visit him, but wrote home frequently, telling of his labors, and taking a lively interest in the family affairs.

The work on the statue advanced so rapidly that the clay model was ready before the Pope left for Rome, and was inspected by him. Being asked if a book should be placed in its left hand, the Pontiff said, "What book? Rather a sword — I am no reader." He then questioned as to whether the right hand was raised to bless or to curse, and the quick-witted sculptor answered, "It menaces this people, Holy Father, if they are not prudent." The French King was now marching across the Alps against the Genoese communists, and the Pope, alleging that the air of Bologna was unhealthy, hastened to Rome, though not before he had laid the corner-stone of a fortress, hard by the Ferrara Gate, in which he had more joy than in a new church.

Wagon-loads of clay had been heaped up in the studio, and out of the lofty mass the sculptor moulded the statue, which was then cast in wax. Being ignorant of the art of bronze-casting, Angelo summoned the master Bernardino from Florence, who began his work in June, but failed on account of not having provided enough metal, so that the molten mass only filled the mould up to the waist, and the statue was finished by casting from above.

The metal came from the bell of Bentivoglio's tower, and a broken cannon, unequal alloys, which melted unequally, leaving the cast in such a rough state that the weary sculptor was obliged to devote many weeks to smoothing and chasing it, with files and other tools. In February, 1508, it was placed over the great door of St. Petronius's Church, in the presence of a vast and applauding multitude. Less than four years afterwards, the Bentivoglio partisans broke it to pieces, and it was converted into an enormous cannon, which the Duke of Ferrara named La Giulia, and mounted on his castle. The head alone, weighing 600 pounds, was preserved for many years.

Francia, the eminent Bolognese artist, came to see the Julian statue, and praised the material thereof, upon which the choleric sculptor cried out, "I have the same obligation to Pope Julius, who has given me this bronze, that you have to the apothecary who gives you your colors for painting," — adding to the gentlemen standing near, that the visiting artist was a blockhead. Again, when he met one of the handsome children of Francia, he said, "Thy father makes better live figures than painted ones." Albert Dürer visited

Bologna while Angelo was there, but it is not known that the two great artists met.

Early in March, 1508, Angelo returned to Florence, and leased for a year the house in the Borgo Pinti, which the Cathedral officials had formerly built for his use, designing to remain in the city, to assist his family, and to finish the works which he had previously left incomplete. He dreaded the malaria of Rome not less than its rivalries and malignant hostilities, and wished to settle permanently in his own city. But the Pope summoned him to the Vatican within three months, and he sadly broke up the new establishment, and bade farewell to his people.

On arriving in Rome he was informed that his allotted task was to paint the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, the scheme of the sepulchral monument having been laid aside. Angelo faltered at undertaking so great a work in painting, an art in which he had but little practice, and recommended the Pope to choose Raphael, who had arrived in the city at about the same time, under the auspices of Bramante. Julius vehemently insisted that his Florentine client should execute the Sistine paintings; and he therefore reluctantly consented, the Pope

agreeing to pay him 3,000 ducats to paint the twelve Apostles in the lunettes, with ornamental work in the compartments. Afterwards the artist boldly objected to that mode of decoration, and his patron told him to do as he pleased in the matter of the designs.

The Papal architect, Bramante, was chosen to construct the scaffold from which the frescoing was to be done, but executed his work in an inefficient and perfunctory manner, without consulting the artist or allowing him to make any changes in it. Angelo therefore secured the Pope's permission to build a new staging, which he completed with great skill and rapidity, making a platform like a ship's deck, 130 feet long and 45 feet wide, and 50 feet above the pavement. Upon this were movable scaffolds for reaching the curved vaulting overhead; and, since the platform was above the tops of the windows, parts of the flooring were arranged for easy removal, in order to admit light, as well as to allow the artist to survey his work from the pavement below.

On the 10th of May, the great master began to prepare his designs for the frescos. He was dubious of his ability to execute fresco-painting,

at least on so grand a scale, and summoned to his aid Granacci, the friend of his boyhood, and other skilful Florentines. By September, these assistants were fully at work, transferring and coloring the designs from the master's chalk cartoons on the chapel-vaulting, which he had previously marked off in conformity with its architectural divisions, with infinite pains and accuracy. But the fallacy of this experiment was soon proved, for the assistants fell far short of the inspiration which was needful, and their coloring, timidly executed and in an outgrown manner, failed to harmonize with the ideas of the master. He therefore sent them away, and, obliterating their feeble pictures, set to work on the great task almost unaided; and thereafter for many months toiled on, in the gloomy space between the platform and the ceiling, living "like Elijah in the cave of Carmel." Ever thus engaged, looking upward, with back-thrown head and straining eyes, his vision was so injured that for a long period he could read only by holding the page above his head.

His custom was to make the first draught in red or black chalk, on a very small scale, and to follow that by elaborating the idea in a drawing from a

model. Armenini says that he saw him make a sketch of this kind in half an hour, which would have occupied most artists for a full month. Some of these draughts were mere outlines, and others were highly finished. From the small drawings thus made he marked out the full-sized cartoons or working-drawings, whose outlines he transferred to the plaster (not by the usual process of indenting with a stylus pressing along the lines, but) by nailing the cartoons to the wall, and cutting away the paper around the figures. The plaster was composed of Roman lime and marble-dust, and afforded a beautifully smooth and polished surface.

Vasari says that the Sistine-Chapel frescos were completed in twenty months by Angelo alone; but when it is considered that many weeks were spent in repose or in waiting for seasonable weather, and that at least 200 days must be assigned for the work on the 60 cartoons, it is readily seen that in the remaining time he could not have painted the crowds of figures in the chapel. Not only must we grant that the master had assistants (of which the frescos furnish obvious evidence), but also that his labors extended over a much wider space of time, even to

the greater part of the four years between the beginning of the work and the end of the year 1512.

He had not worked long before an incrustation like mould appeared on the surface of the frescos. Hurrying to the Pope in despair, the artist exclaimed, "I told you I was no fresco-painter; what I have done is ruined." Sangallo was sent to the chapel, and consoled the perturbed Angelo by showing that the damage was transitory, and would disappear when the plaster dried. The Pope had a ladder built by which he himself could visit the platform easily, and he frequently ascended to observe the progress of the work. This was not quite pleasing to the artist, who preferred to work in absolute solitude, since the task which was allotted to his brain alone was so great that he did not wish any outside distractions. The chapel was kept closed against the outer world, except in the brief exposition of the first finished half, when Raphael was present, and caught the Angelesque manner, to reproduce it admirably in his Prophets and Sibyls at Santa Maria della Pace.

While the drawing of the Sistine frescos was vigorous and forcible, the coloring was in the soft Tuscan manner, quiet, monumental, and sculptur-

esque. The nude parts of the figures are highly finished, but the drapery is laid in with a freer hand; though the delicate perfection of the whole work is far greater than it needed to have been, considering the distance at which it is elevated from the floor. The Pope wished that the frescos should be enriched with bright colors and gold; but Angelo replied, dryly, that the saints whom he had painted were poor men, despising riches, and did not wear gold. Nevertheless he added much gilding to the decorative parts, extensively retouched the figures with size-colors, and planned to enrich the skies with ultramarine (although if the latter was ever done, no trace of it remains).

On All Saints' Day, 1509, the work of Angelo was partly finished, and the scaffolding was removed in order that the Pope might see it. The completion of the great enterprise was reached probably late in 1512, and the chapel was first opened to the public in March, 1513.

The Sistine Chapel is 131½ feet long and about 44 feet wide, and the side walls are divided into three longitudinal sections, which are subdivided by painted pilasters. The lower section was colored to represent hangings of cloth of gold and of silver,

embroidered with the arms of Sixtus IV., whereon Raphael's tapestries were hung on festival days. The second section contains frescos of scriptural subjects, by Signorelli, Ghirlandajo, Roselli, Botticelli, and Perugino. The third section is cut by six round-headed windows on each side, between which are frescoed portraits of twenty-eight popes, by Sandro Botticelli. The space given for Angelo's genius to enrich covered about 10,000 square feet, including the arched roof and the pointed arches and lunettes at its sides. There are no fewer than 343 figures in the ceiling-frescos, varying in proportions from the colossal prophets to the graceful boy-angels who uphold the cornices, all of them full of life and thought, and marking the consummate flower of an exhaustless inspiration in the glorious epic of Christian redemption.

The central idea of this vast conception is the preparation of the world for the Advent of Christ, in a grand succession of portrayals of the typical events in Old-Testament history. These are judiciously combined by an architectural framework, enlivened by numerous accessory figures, medallions, and other ornaments, and separated appreciably by faun-like nude figures, of dark-toned colors,

seated on pedestals, and representing the genii of architecture. The central space of the ceiling contains nine great pictures, showing forth God separating the Light from the Darkness, the Creation of the Sun and Moon, the Separation of the Land and Sea, the Creation of Adam, the Creation of Eve the Fall and Banishment from Paradise, the Sacrifice of Noah, the Deluge, and the Drunkenness of Noah.

The fourth picture on the ceiling contains the awakening Adam, which one critic calls "the finest figure in the Sistine Chapel, perhaps the grandest single figure to be met with in the whole range of modern art;" and that of the Creator, of which another critic says, "It is infinitely the noblest idea of God which ever emanated from art." In the next picture, the reverential nature of woman is illustrated by the new-born Eve, her first act being that of adoration. The fresco of the Deluge is filled with terrible scenes of suffering and death, the figures being of smaller size than those in the other pictures, in order to introduce more numerous episodes. The figures in the other ceiling-frescos are from ten to twelve feet high.

The great sins of man and their two punish-

ments having been illustrated in the central space, Angelo proceeded to show forth the promised redemption, in the long line of majestic and contemplative Prophets and Sibyls, sitting on thrones, and attended by angels, and filled with all the antique spirit of the Scriptures. These imposing figures would be eighteen feet high, if they stood erect; and their massive forms and eager faces are filled with the intensest absorption, the most ravishing expectation.

In the lower part of the vaulting are the Prophets Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Joel, Zachariah, Isaiah, Daniel, and Jonah, alternating with the ancient prophetesses, the Persian, Erythræan, Delphian, Cumæan, and Libyan Sibyls. In the pointed arches and lunettes of the vaulting are the ancestors of Christ's putative father from Abraham to St. Joseph, represented sometimes with great obscurity, and elsewhere by pleasing family groups. In the four corner arches are frescos of the Brazen Serpent, the Death of Haman, Judith and Holofernes, and David and Goliath.

The first impression produced on one who enters the Sistine Chapel is that of a vast and hopeless confusion of designs and paintings, amid

which gigantic figures appear along all the mighty vault, apparently without order or method. They are nearly seventy feet overhead, and can only be seen by assuming a painful attitude, which combines with the maltreatment they have suffered during a third of a millennium to detract from their interest to the casual visitor. Obscured by dust, clouds of cobwebs, and the smoke of altar-candles, conclave-ballots, and incense, they have acquired a low tone which is almost the reverse of the rich coloring with which they once stood out in bold relief on the white marbleized ceiling. The plastering was unevenly laid, on an unstable brick arch, and has cracked all over, and parts of it have fallen down (especially when the powder-magazine at Castle St. Angelo exploded, in 1798); and the colors have been ruined in many places by barbarous cleaning, when ordinary laborers have washed the pictures with sponges filled with a caustic solution.

The enemies who had urged the Pope to have Angelo decorate the Sistine Chapel, in the hope that he would fail so signally as to be relegated to lasting disgrace, were astounded and dismayed at his triumphant success. He was not a painter, as

he frankly stated in advance, and had made but two or three pictures in all his previous active life. But when he was forced to undertake this great work of frescoing, he resolved to surpass all who had preceded him, and concentrated the powers of his mighty intellect to insure success. Manifesting a heroic contempt of all limitations, he followed only the lofty lyrics of his own fruitful inspiration, and with a fearless self-reliance passed beyond the traditions of the academic artists of his day. It was his first fresco, but he showed no signs of inexperience, and its technical execution appears perfect. Kugler says that "The ceiling of the Sistine Chapel contains the most perfect works done by Michael Angelo in his long and active life. Here his great spirit appears in its noblest dignity, in its highest purity; here the attention is not disturbed by that arbitrary display to which his great power not unfrequently seduced him in other works."

CHAPTER IV.

Raphael and Angelo. — The Buonarroti Family. — Leo X. — The Façade of San Lorenzo. — Life at the Quarries. — Pope Adrian VI.

MICHAEL ANGELO and Raphael, the two foremost artists of the world, were brought together in the Vatican Palace, and labored near each other for years, yet never met as friends, nor seemed conscious of their vicinity. They admired each other's genius, and watched their developments and works with the keenest interest; but Raphael shrank from encountering the morose and savage temper of his great rival, and Angelo was prejudiced against the artist of Urbino, because he was a friend of Bramante and a pupil of Perugino (whom Angelo despised so thoroughly that he was once arrested for upbraiding him publicly as "a blockhead in art"). The separation thus formed between the two artists was widened by the tale-bearing and falsifying of their followers, until it became impassable. Bramante even endeavored to have Raphael appointed

to paint the remainder of the Sistine Chapel, after Angelo had finished the first half; but the wronged artist made an impetuous appeal to the Pope himself, in the presence of Bramante, and reported the misdeeds of the latter during the demolition of St. Peter's Church.

Raphael "thanked God that he had been born in the same century as Angelo," but the less generous Angelo said that "All that Raphael has of art, he has from me." The Pope's remark to Sebastiano del Piombo helps to harmonize these statements: "See the work of Raphael, who, as soon as he saw the pictures of Michael Angelo, suddenly abandoned the manner of Perugino, and approached as near as he could to that of Michael Angelo. But he [Angelo] is terrible, as you know, and no one can manage him."

Amid his great works in the Sistine, the master's mind was continually disturbed by the dissensions occurring in his family. He proposed to remove his benefits from the roistering Giovan Simone, and to transfer them to Sigismondo; and advised his father to let his rural villa, and to live like a gentleman. He truly states the grand object of his self-denials and grinding economies, in a letter filled

with noble anger and sorrow, wherein he reproves his scapegrace younger brother, Giovan Simone, saying: "If you will take care to do well, and to honor and revere your father, I will aid you like the others, and will soon establish you in a good shop. . . . I have gone about throughout all Italy for twelve years, leading a dog's life; bearing all manner of insults; enduring all sorts of drudgery; lacerating my body with many toils; placing my life itself under a thousand perils, solely to aid my family; and now that I have commenced to raise it up a little, thou alone wishest to do that which shall confound and ruin in an hour every thing that I have done in so many years and with so many fatigues."

In a letter to his father the weary artist said: "I stand here in intense anxiety, and with the greatest fatigue of body, and I have no friends of any sort, nor do I wish any; and I have not time enough to eat what is needful. Let no more annoyances be added to me, for I cannot bear another ounce." In the summer of 1508 he wrote: "I am sick at heart, ill, and worn out with fatigue, helpless and penniless." A year later, he wrote again: "The Pope has not given me a groat for a year; and I

do not ask for it, for I feel that I have not merited it, and this because painting is not the sort of work which is my profession. And yet I waste my time without fruits — God help me!" During this period of despair he wrote a scathing sonnet, reproaching Julius with having pitilessly robbed him of his toil from his youth up. In September, 1509, he sent 350 ducats of gold to be secretly deposited in the hands of a Florentine official, to his account; informing his father, who was about to lose an annoying lawsuit, that he was at liberty to draw upon this deposit for funds, and adding, with filial piety, "I should rather have you, alive and poor, than, you being dead, to possess all the gold of the world." Suffering with ill health as the master was, he longed to go to Florence and rest for a time, but was prevented by the impatience of the Pope and the necessity of watching the intrigues of Bramante's partisans. During the winter he secured many days for deliberation and repose, when the physical conditions of the climate rendered it impossible to proceed with the frescoing. After his extraordinary bursts of prolonged and intense labor, he was accustomed to rest for some weeks, reading his favorite authors

and contemplating his great work in its entirety. The energetic and unresting Julius was always impatient during these periods, and his urgent remonstrances called forth equally passionate replies. The rapidity with which Angelo painted, when in the mood, appears in the unrivalled figure of Adam, which, although ten feet high, was finished in four days.

In the summer of 1510 Angelo applied to the Pope for permission to visit Florence, and was asked when he would have done with the Chapel. "When I shall be able," was his imprudent answer, to which Julius replied by striking him with his cane. The angry artist prepared to fly from Rome, but the Pope sent his page with the requested permission, and money for his journey. A few weeks later his beloved brother, Buonarroto, was menaced with sickness, and he wrote that if he was really in danger, "I shall take post-horses, and be with you in two days: men are worth more than money." Again, when Angelo returned an imprudent answer to the Pope's question about the end of his work, Julius threatened to have him thrown from the platform. "I'll take care that you shall not have the opportunity," answered the

painter, and gave orders that the platform should be taken down.

In the mean time the Pope had excommunicated the Florentine State, because it persisted in its alliance with France, and the Emperor had pledged himself to restore the Medici family to power. The Spanish Viceroy marched into the city with a large army, and the long-exiled Medici re-entered its gates under the protection of his battalions, and established their government upon the ruins of the Republic. Angelo counselled his family to keep out of the contest on either side, and furnished them freely with his hard-earned money to meet the new imposts, using also his influence with the Medici in their favor. In remitting these things to his father, he adds the pathetic remark: "If you are not to share in the honors of this world like other citizens, it is enough to have bread, and to live well with Christ and poorly, as I do here, and live miserably, and care nothing for life and honor, that is of the world, and abide amid the greatest fatigues and with a thousand mistrusts."

Early in 1513, Pope Julius II. died, and was succeeded by Cardinal de' Medici of Florence, who assumed the title of Leo X., and continued the

munificent patronage of art and letters which had been inaugurated by his predecessor. He was not only a townsman of Angelo's, but had also been a fellow-pupil, while the latter lived in the Medici Palace under the instruction of Politian. The completion of the works on the Sistine Chapel left Angelo free to return to his prior engagement, — that of erecting the mausoleum of Julius II. The late Pontiff had left directions for the execution of the monument, on a smaller scale than that of the first design; and his executors, Lorenzo Pucci and Cardinal Aginense, made a new contract with Angelo for a sepulchral chapel, with outer platforms and pedestals, and no fewer than forty statues, some of which were to be colossal. The sculptor established a new studio in the Macello de' Corvi, and set his assistants to work on the facade of the monument, which they erected in the Church of St. Peter in Vincoli. He himself engaged with great energy upon the carving of the statues, one of which was that of Moses; and received from the executors, during the next two years, over 6,000 ducats. He resumed this task with great joy, as he had previously relinquished it with reluctance; and believed that it would be his masterpiece.

Early in 1515, Angelo began to draw his own funds from the banker at Florence, to carry on the work of Julius II.'s sepulchre, whose models were advancing rapidly toward completion. The statues of the Waking and Sleeping Prisoners had already been blocked out, and were afterwards carefully finished. These grand works of art were too large for the monument in its last and reduced design, and are now in the Louvre. They were given by Angelo to Roberto Strozzi, from whom they passed to Francis I., and then to the Constable de Montmorency.

During his visit to Florence, in 1515, the Pope visited San Lorenzo, the church of his family, and wept over the tomb of his father. The edifice was built by Cosmo de' Medici, "the Father of his Country," from Brunelleschi's designs; but its front was left (as it is now) an unrelieved mass of black rubble. Leo determined to adorn this blank wall with a magnificent façade, and invited the chief Italian architects to submit plans therefor. Among those who competed were Raphael, Sangallo, Sansovino, and Baccio d'Agnolo; and Michael Angelo also was summoned to prepare a design. Although he had never studied architecture, nor made a

design of any importance, his was the successful plan: a victory which almost insured his ruin; for he incurred the hostility of the powerful family of the Rovere by his enforced abandonment of Julius II.'s monument, and the defeated architects also became his enemies. Leo X. made this new work a pretext for keeping the independent and high-spirited artist in a prolonged exile of three years from his court, amid the rugged Tuscan mountains, doing the work of a civil engineer. Angelo afterwards wrote in bitter words: "Pope Leo, desiring that I should not make the monument [of Julius II.], *pretended* to wish to erect the front of San Lorenzo in Florence."

In 1516, Angelo went to Carrara to select and oversee the quarrying of nineteen blocks of statuary-marble for the sepulchre; and hired a house, as if to remain a long time. But only two months had passed, when Leo summoned him to Rome, in the matter of the church-façade; a command which troubled him greatly, since he had hoped to have finished Julius's monument before undertaking new works. He had already built the basement of the sepulchre, and had carved the Moses and the Captives, besides modelling the reliefs, and pur-

chasing the copper for their casting. But the will of the Pope overbore the interests of his predecessor's family, and the desire of the artist; and Angelo was appointed architect of San Lorenzo, Leo agreeing to placate the Rovere family, and to have the statues removed to Florence for the sculptor to work on at intervals. This, however, was not done; and Angelo, shedding tears of vexation, discharged his numerous assistants, and closed his Roman studio. On the last day of the year 1516, Angelo reached Carrara again, having left Baccio d'Agnolo in Florence to make a model of the new façade. On his way from Rome he visited Florence; but received a sore rebuff from his father, who had so long lived on his generous bounty, yet fled from the city when he heard of his approach, and retired to Settignano.

Angelo wrote to the Pope's agent, proposing to make the front of San Lorenzo "the masterpiece of all Italy," in six years of labor, the total cost to be 35,000 ducats in gold. In the mean time he was suffering from the intrigues of his defeated rivals, Sansovino and D'Agnolo; the Carrarese, jealous of the works at Serravezza, were hostile to him; the Medici were growing impatient; and the

unfortunate master was surrounded by dishonesty and dissimulation. Hastening from Florence to Rome, to Pisa, to Genoa, and through the grand Appuan Alps, his precious time was squandered, while the mad carnival of Leo's semi-Pagan court went on at Rome, and beyond the Alps the Reformation was beginning. In the meantime the Pope was emptying the treasury of the Church in the Lombard war, and thus rendering his architectural plans impracticable.

In the solitudes of the Carrara mountains, Angelo studied architecture with intense assiduity, learning the cost of work and materials, and the use of machinery for moving heavy masses, and preparing the blocks of marble fit for various parts of the façade. The sculptor of Florence had been converted into a painter by the despotic will of Julius II., and now the no less peremptory orders of Leo X. made him an architect.

From Carrara Angelo was ordered to go to Pietrasanta, to re-open the ancient quarries in the adjacent mountains of Serravezza, to which he was also to construct roads. He protested against this indignity, and professed to believe that the newly-discovered marble was inferior to that of Carrara;

but the Pope and Cardinal de' Medici wrote to him, insisting that Salviati and other masters had praised the Serravezza marble, and intimating that the men of Carrara had bribed him to discredit the new quarries. Leo ordered that no other marble than that of Serravezza should be used in the works at St. Peter's, San Lorenzo, or the Cathedral of Florence — being resolved, as a true Florentine, that his patronage should be given to the Tuscan quarries exclusively. But before these stones could be placed on the plain, much work with the pick-axe was necessary, to make a road through the mountains, and Angelo was ordered to supervise this task, and to replace the mountain foot-paths with massive highways.

In 1519 he was invited to go to Adrianople, there to practise his profession among the Turks; but he now stood too high in Italy, and was sought by too many cities, to allow him to think of expatriating himself.

When the Florentine Academy petitioned Leo X. for permission to bring back the bones of Dante from Ravenna to Florence, Angelo signed the paper, saying, "I, the sculptor Michael Angelo, ask the same of Your Holiness, offering myself to make

a worthy monument for the Divine Poet, and to give it an honorable place in this city." The petition was disregarded, and Dante's remains still lie in remote Ravenna, though a noble monument was erected in his honor, at Florence, in the year 1865. Angelo's petition was written in Italian, though all the others were in Latin, and in this way the great artist testified his love for the language of Dante. He was a regular attendant at the meetings of the Academy, of which he was a member, and delivered before it a lecture on one of Petrarch's sonnets, which is still preserved.

Early in 1520 Angelo was released from his ignominious service of four years among the marble mountains, the design of providing a new façade for San Lorenzo having been abandoned, and the marbles quarried for that purpose were used to make a pavement in the Florentine Cathedral. The sculptor returned to his studio at Florence, to resume his work on the Julian monument and the statue of the Risen Christ. While thus engaged, he was apprised of the death of Raphael, his noble rival, by a letter from Sebastiano, the persistent calumniator of the younger master, who nevertheless is forced to say: "That poor Raphael

of Urbino is dead, which I believe will cause you great sorrow. May God pardon him!"

Pallavicini visited Angelo's studio at Florence about this time, and saw several figures in process of being carved, among which were (probably) the four statues now in the grotto of the Boboli Gardens, works destined for the Julian monument. Another piece of sculpture of this period is now in the Italian National Museum, and shows a vigorous and cruel youth crushing down an old man, perhaps in commemoration of his own sufferings at Serravezza. Another statue in the same Museum represents the dying Adonis, in Serravezza marble, and was probably one of the symbols of captured provinces on the Julian monument, afterwards metamorphosed into the present form. Still another noble but unfinished work (of later date) here preserved is the ideal bust of Brutus, which is full of dignity and power, with soft flesh and graceful drapery.

When Cardinal de' Medici ordered Raphael to paint 'The Transfiguration,' he also commissioned Sebastiano del Piombo to illustrate 'The Resurrection of Lazarus.' Angelo furnished parts of the design for the latter, and it was thought that

Raphael would certainly be outdone when his great rival's drawing was illuminated by Sebastiano's rich Venetian coloring. But this result did not follow, and Sebastiano's picture was sent away to the Cathedral of Narbonne, while Raphael's remained in Rome. Sebastiano continually poisoned Angelo's mind against Raphael, calling him a Jew and a robber, and ridiculing his works; while other Roman correspondents in similar ways slandered the painter of Urbino. Sebastiano was aided by Angelo's designs in several other pictures, among which were the Holy Family with Saints, and two Pietàs. Another joint work of this kind was 'The Flagellation of Christ' in the Roman Church of San Pietro in Montorio.

One noble thing, at least, Angelo did in respect to the memory of the deceased artist of Urbino. Raphael had left the great frescos of the Hall of Constantine unachieved, and his pupils were about to finish them from his designs; but Leo X. invited Angelo to paint the hall himself, and Sebastiano del Piombo urged him in several letters to accept the commission. Nevertheless the great Florentine resisted all these solicitations, preferring to allow Raphael's pupils to finish Raphael's designs.

He asked the Pope for permission to visit Rome, but was refused; and Sebastiano urged him to go in spite thereof, mysteriously hinting that he was needed there to look after the Castle of Canossa, whose ownership he might secure. "You would obtain all that you could wish, not castles but cities; for I know that the Pope holds you in much account, and when he speaks of you it is as if you were a brother, and almost with tears in his eyes; for he has told me that you were brought up together; and he shows that he knows and loves you; but you cause fear to every one, even to Popes." There is doubtless much truth in these statements, and in the inference that the savage temper and haughty irascibility of the artist made it seem best to Leo to keep him away from the splendid and ceremonious court of Rome.

In 1519 Leo determined upon the erection of a new chapel on the north side of the Medici Church of San Lorenzo, for the reception of monuments to his well-beloved brother and nephew Giuliano and Lorenzo. Late in 1520 Cardinal de' Medici invited Angelo to make a design for this structure, which design was accepted, and the sculptor was ordered to begin the construction.

In the following April, Angelo made his tenth and last visit to Carrara, where he drew the ground plans for his new work, and ordered the marble from the famous old quarry of Polvaccio, whence the Romans obtained their supplies as far back as the days of Trajan. Three hundred cart-loads of marble were purchased, some of which was to be blocked into figures at the quarries.

Returning to Florence, the master resumed his work on the Risen Christ, the same subject which he had begun in Rome several years before, and abandoned on finding a flaw in the marble. In August he sent it to Rome, in the care of his assistant, Pietro Urbano, who was delegated to finish it, but fell into an evil life in the papal city, and seriously disfigured the statue. Sebastiano secured the services of a competent sculptor, named Frizzi, who finished the statue admirably, and it was set up in the Church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, where it still remains. As an embodiment of triumphant life, abounding in manly beauty and grace, it is full of interest; but the painful feelings excited by the nudity of the statue of One so sacred have forced the ecclesiastics to mar its symmetry by the introduction of bronze drapery.

In December, 1521, Leo X. died, doubtless but little lamented by Angelo, and was succeeded by Adrian of Utrecht, the former tutor of Charles V., who was a true bishop, in that he preferred to devote his energies to the purifying of the Church, rather than to the nurture of art and a semi-pagan literature. During his brief pontificate of less than two years, Angelo devoted himself to the Julian monument, and to the construction of the Medici funereal chapel, which was built of stone from the adjacent village of Fiesole. Adrian cared as little for the Rovere as for the Medici, and had an equal indifference to Angelo's occupations. In 1521 Angelo was godfather to the son of Niccolò Soderini, the nephew of the former President of the Florentine Republic. During the next year the Senate of Genoa desired him to make a statue of Andrea Doria, but nothing came of it. He wrote to Angelini: "I have much work to do, and I am old and unwilling, so that if I work for a day I must rest for four."

CHAPTER V.

Florentine Labors. — Clement VII. — Laurentian Library. — Building Fortifications. — The Siege of Florence. — Fall of the Republic.

In November, 1523, Cardinal Giulio de' Medici was elected Pope, to succeed the deceased and unlamented Adrian VI., and assumed the name of Clement, to foreshadow his conciliatory policy. He always treated Angelo with distinguished courtesy and generosity, appreciating his high talents as well as understanding his faulty temper, and enjoying his works, and those of other artists and literati, as a Medici should. He was so desirous of securing Angelo's undivided service and obedience, that he endeavored to have him take holy orders; but this proposal was refused, upon which the Pope offered him a salary of fifty ducats a month, and this he accepted. The works on the Medici Chapel went on apace after the accession of Clement VII. The master had much difficulty with his clerk of works, Stefano, yet he dared not turn him away

because both of them had been enrolled among the Piagnoni, or followers of Savonarola. Stefano was, however, a practical architect of great skill, and his master would not plan the Library until he had consulted with him.

Angelo was a great admirer of the three famous Florentine architects who had preceded him. Of Ghiberti's gates to the Baptistery, he said, "They are so beautiful, that they are worthy of being the gates of Paradise." Standing before Donatello's statue of St. Mark, he cried out, "Mark, why don't you speak to me?" and on another occasion he said, "If St. Mark looked thus, we may safely believe what he has written." When he was advised to vary the lantern on the Medici Chaple from that which Brunelleschi had built on the old sacristy of San Lorenzo, he remarked, "It may be varied, but not improved." Of other artists he spoke no less pleasantly, saying of Gentile da Fabriano that his name corresponded with the grace of his style; and of Cesari's medals, that "Art has reached its last hour, for beyond this it cannot go."

In 1525 the master went to Rome to discuss with the Pope his plans for the chapel and the new Laurentian Library, and was menaced by the Duke

of Urbino, for having made no returns for the 16,000 crowns which he had received on account of the Julian monument. On his return to Florence, the dome of the chapel was completed, but further work was delayed by troubles about the supply of marble. So much annoyance did this cause, that he abandoned the undertaking, though Salviati wrote him a long letter, filled with kindly good sense, begging him, in the Pope's name, to resume the work, and to disappoint his now laughing enemies. The Pope's agent proposed to him to build a colossal statue in Florence, sixty feet high, facing the Medici Palace, and with its back towards the Stufa Palace. The independent sculptor replied with grim humor, suggesting that it should be erected on the site of the barber's shop near the Medici Palace, and, being hollow, the barber could hire the lower part for his shop, while the empty head would make either a dove-cote or a capital belfry for San Lorenzo, with the sounds of the bells issuing from the mouth of the colossus. This Titanic fun disposed of the Pope's scheme forever. New plans for the Library were submitted and amended; and the Pope showed at once his impatience and his consideration in the following letter:

"Thou knowest that Pontiffs do not live long, and we cannot too strongly express our wish to see, or at least to hear, that the Chapel with the sepulchres of our relatives, and also the Library, should be finished. Both of these we recommend to thee; in the mean time we will, as thou hast already said, exercise a good patience, praying God to put it into thy heart to make haste on both together; and not to doubt that labors and rewards will be wanting to thee as long as we live. Now remain in the blessing of God and of ourself."

The work on the Laurentian Library, adjacent to the Church of San Lorenzo, went on so rapidly that it was roofed in in 1525, and was furnished the next year. The Pope desired that it should have a richly-carved wooden ceiling, and that the desks and chairs should be made of walnut and fir-wood. In April, Angelo sent the design for the doorway and its motto, which the Pope liked so well that he said no man in Rome could have invented so good an inscription. He ordered the seats to be of carved walnut, and "*alla cosimesca*, that is, that they resemble the works of the magnificent Cosimo." The carved ceiling, designed by Angelo, was executed by Tasso and Carrota; and

the elaborate flooring, which still exists, was made by Tribolo. The hall is 135 feet long and 35 feet wide, and reflects but little honor on its builder, on account of its ill-conceived ornamentation.

Italy was at that time not Italy, but a geographical collocation of petty states, filled with dissensions and treacheries, and scourged by intestine wars and devastating pestilences. The perfidy and immorality of the princes were reflected in the unspeakable vices and corruptions of the people, and the sentiments of honor and freedom seemed extinct. The Italian spirit had not yet arisen, and the debased peninsulars sold their fair land cheaply, first to the French and then to the Germans. The culminating disaster was the sack of Rome by the Imperial army, in May, 1527; and when the Florentines heard thereof, they raised the red lilies of the Republic, and expelled the Medici. The monks of St. Mark revived the memories of Savonarola, by their impassioned preaching, and erected over the portal of the Municipal Palace a marble tablet (which still remains) bearing the inscription: YHS, REX REGUM ET DOMINUS DOMINANTIUM. Famine and pestilence swept through the city, nevertheless, and Buonarroto died in the arms of

his lamenting brother Angelo, who never left him during all his terrible sickness. The master's commissions for the Medici Pope were thrown into abeyance; but the Republican Government ordered him to carve a group of Samson slaying a Philistine, as a patriotic symbol. The model which he made for this work is now preserved in the South Kensington Museum.

In 1529 the radical party came into power, and Carducci was elected Gonfaloniere. But in the meantime the Pope and the Emperor had formed an alliance for the restoration of the Medici, and prepared to attack the city with an army under the Prince of Orange. The war-council appointed Angelo as governor and procurator-general of the fortifications and defences of Florence, and a member of the militia-council. Thus the sculptor was pushed by destiny into still another profession, and was summoned from his studio to act as a supervising military engineer. He accepted the duty imposed, and moreover loaned his own funds freely to the menaced Republic. He secured the services of a great number of peasants, who fortified the hill of San Miniato under his directions, erecting long lines of bastions around that impor-

tant height, and demolishing all the buildings in the line of the walls. The works thus constructed were afterwards highly esteemed by military engineers, and were measured and praised by Vauban himself. Capponi and other leaders opposed the San-Miniato fortifications, and they were twice dismantled, but were as often rebuilt by the master. Angelo was sent to Ferrara by the Government, to study its fortifications, and was favorably received by the Duke, who showed and explained to him the defences of the city. Being hastily recalled to Florence, he was then sent on an embassy to Venice, with three other citizens. After spending a fortnight in the sea-city, he returned to Florence, and resumed his work on the forts. But he soon saw that Malatesta Baglioni, the captain-general of the Republic, was playing the part of a traitor, and furthermore a mysterious warning came that he himself was about to be assassinated. Despairing of the success of his country, he denounced the conspirators to the Signory, and showed that Malatesta had placed his artillery outside of the walls and unguarded. But this appeal was not effectual, and the master, hopeless for Florence, and menaced as to his own life, asked to be allowed to

retire to France, where King Francis 1. had earnestly invited him to settle, at his court. This permission was denied, and so he fled from the city, with great difficulty, and passed to Venice, on his way to France. The Government of Venice offered him a munificent salary, to establish himself in that city; and he made a design for a new Rialto Bridge, for the Doge Gritti.

Angelo's flight caused a great sensation in Florence, and the Signory issued an edict placing him and several other fugitives under the ban of the Republic, as rebels, yet giving them a week in which to return and submit to the Government. He was, however, comfortably housed on the Giudecca, at Venice, receiving distinguished courtesies from the citizens, and abundantly supplied with money, since he had carried with him 3,000 golden ducats, sewed into his clothing. While fleeing toward the North, he was courteously received by the Duke of Ferrara, who showed him through his great collections of pictures, and said, "You are my prisoner, and before you leave me you must give me a promise to do something for me, either in painting or in sculpture, as you may prefer." It was probably during this period of exile that Angelo wrote his passionate sonnets to Dante.

In October, Della Palla, who was to have accompanied Angelo to France, wrote to him that the enemy was already encamped about Florence, but the citizens were filled with ardent hopes of victory, and he himself should remain to help defend the city. At the same time the Government sent a safe-conduct to Angelo, and begged him to return. Filled with anguish at the danger impending over his native land, the master hastened from Venice to Lucca, and embraced the first opportunity to re-enter Florence. Here he was placed in command of the fortifications, which were already crumbling under the bolts of the German artillery. His first care was to repair the bell-tower of San Miniato, the beautiful old Gothic church which he called his bride, whereon two Florentine cannon had been mounted, whose galling fire so annoyed the besiegers that they had directed a heavy cannonade upon the tower, and injured it seriously. The damaged masonry was protected by bales of wool, which were employed also at other parts of the defences, where the hostile shot had broken the walls. There were 8,000 regular infantry and 5,000 volunteers in the city; and the villas, palaces, and churches for a mile outside of the walls had been

levelled, while the groves and orchards had been cut down and made into fascines. The Imperialists occupied Signa and La Lastra; furiously assailed the bastion of St. George; and overran the Tuscan territory, where Ferruccio, the Republican general, after several successes, was defeated and slain. Famine and pestilence appeared in the city, but the people resolved to die in the streets rather than surrender. At last Malatesta, the commander of the defences, was convicted of treachery, and when an officer was sent to depose him, he stabbed him, and turned the guns at the Roman Gate upon the city. Nought remained but to make peace with the besiegers, and Florence surrendered to the Imperial forces, under the pledge of amnesty and the preservation of her liberties.

Throughout the period of resistance Angelo was one of the foremost on the walls and in the councils, and conducted himself with the valor of a veteran and the calm faith of a Piagnone. His hours of repose were devoted to the practice of his profession, and he retired from the roaring batteries to his quiet studio, where he was engaged in painting a picture of 'Leda and the Swan' for the Duke of Ferrara. He was also called upon for

other engineering duties, and went to Leghorn and Pisa, to advise about fortifications there, and to provide dikes against the inundations of the Arno. His powerful citadel on San Miniato withstood the utmost fury of the hostile cannonade; and its defenders were inspired by the superb view from that lofty site over the city and the Vale of the Arno.

When the Imperialists occupied Florence, and the Medici resumed its government, the terms of capitulation were disregarded, and the Republican leaders were sought out for execution. Earnest quest was made for Angelo; but he remained hidden, in the belfry of the Church of St. Nicholas, until the fury of the storm was over, and the Pope had publicly announced that he should be pardoned. He was accused (not only of extraordinary energy in the defence, but also) of having proposed to level the Medici Palace, and to have its site entitled "the Place of Mules" (the Medici of that day were illegitimate).

Immediately upon issuing from his hiding-place, the master set to work quietly upon the Medici monuments at San Lorenzo, and the Pope renewed his pension. At the same time he conciliated the all-powerful Papal Commissioner, Baccio Valori, by

making for him a statue of Apollo drawing an arrow from his quiver. This beautiful work, not quite finished, now remains in the Italian National Museum at Florence. Still the master did not return to the Medici cause, and incurred the hatred of Alexander of that family, the new Duke of Florence, by refusing to take part in the erection of a new fortress to dominate the city.

The agent of the Duke of Ferrara was displeased at the 'Leda,' and had angry words with the artist, who afterwards gave it to his pupil Mini and another Florentine. In 1532 Mini carried this picture and a copy thereof to Paris, where it ultimately passed into the hands of the King. During the reign of Louis XIII., it was destroyed by the superintendent of the royal palaces, on account of its supposed grossness of suggestion. Eastlake, however, says that it is still preserved, in England.

The group of Samson and Goliath, which the Republic had ordered of Angelo, was never finished, so completely had the sculptor been engrossed with military duties. The block of marble destined for this work was given by the Medici to Baccio Bandinelli, Angelo's bitterest enemy and most presumptuous rival, who executed from it the group of

Hercules overcoming the robber Cacus, which still disfigures the Piazza della Signoria.

In the mean time Angelo had secured the return of his father to Florence. The weak old man had been appointed to hold Castelfranco for the Republic, but had fled to Pisa, on the Imperialists' advance, and, after the city fell, corresponded with his grandson Leonardo about returning thither. Sigismondo was then Castellan of La Verrucca, on the Pisan Mountains, and prevailed upon him to wait until the roads were safe.

CHAPTER VI.

The Medici Chapel. — Paul III. — The Last Judgment. — The Capitol. — The Farnese Palace. —The Statue of Moses.

THE master continued to work night and day or the statues for the Medici Chapel, until at last his health began to give way, and he suffered greatly from sleeplessness, loss of appetite, vertigo, and general emaciation. These physical troubles were augmented by the mental agony consequent on seeing the miseries of his city. One day Strozzi wrote on Angelo's statue of Night the poetic lines:

"The Night, which thou dost see in such sweet guise
To sleep, was by an angel [Angelo] hewn
From this rock, and though she sleeps she lives.
Arouse her, if thou believ'st it not, and she will speak to thee."

The sculptor answered (for the statue) in these words, bewailing the servitude of Florence:—

"Dear to me is sleep, and more to be of stone;
While injury and shame endure,
To see not, to feel not, is fortunate for me;
So wake me not; alas! speak low."

Once more the Rovere princes began to persecute Angelo for his abandonment of the Julian monument, and Clement VII. consulted with Sebastiano del Piombo about placating them and allaying the fresh alarms of the sculptor. The Pope offered to allow Angelo to come to Rome, but Sebastiano advised him to keep quiet and work earnestly for the Papal designs, because Clement now loved him deeply, "and would be still more pleased if he knew that you were happy, and that your mind was at peace, and that you had the same love for him that he has for you." In November the Pope made an extraordinary use of his spiritual weapons, for Angelo's relief in the Rovere matter, by issuing a brief forbidding the sculptor to undertake any work, except for Clement himself, under pain of excommunication. At this time he had numerous commissions, all of which, and more, could easily have been executed if the master had been able to mould and command such a corps of assistants as Raphael had formed. But the men whom he had trained were all inadequate, and could not be trusted out of his sight, so that he himself was forced to do nearly every thing with his own hands. It is perhaps true that no men of

distinguished ability, and of genius fit to second his own, could endure to live with a person of such unamiable traits.

In the summer of 1533, Angelo petitioned the Pope to have the 1,000 ducats which he had advanced to the Florentine Republic repaid to him. Clement ordered the Duke of Florence to refund to the artist the money which he had loaned in order to keep both the Duke and the Pope out of Florence; and thus the audacity of the sculptor was matched by the magnanimity of the prelate. Clement's regard for Angelo was mingled with a sort of fear withal; and he was accustomed to tell him, at their interviews, to be seated, and to put his hat on, knowing that he would do so anyhow.

In spite of the threatened anathema, fresh difficulties arose about the Julian monument. Angelo went to Rome in April, 1532, and made a new contract with the heirs of Julius, binding himself to discharge his debt by designing a new sepulchre, to be decorated with the six statues which he had begun, and which he promised to complete in a little over three years. "These alone will be of a world's value, as they will be incomparable," wrote the exultant Envoy of Urbino to his sovereign.

On his return to the labors of the Medici Chapel, he took with him the monk Montorsolo, "for smoothing and polishing and undercutting, by which means the Friar learned many things from that divine man, observing him attentively while he worked." In September, 1533, the master went to San Miniato al Tedesco, and met Pope Clement VII., who was then on his way to France to solemnize the nuptials of his niece, Catherine de' Medici, with the King's son. The Papal train was about to embark for Marseilles, in the galleys of the Duke of Albany, and Sebastiano gave his horse to Angelo, being unable to carry it on shipboard.

Early in 1534, Angelo's father died at the villa in Settignano, having reached his ninetieth year. His remains were honored by the grieving son with a costly funeral at Florence; and his memory was consecrated in a tender elegiac poem, the last act of a long season of self-sacrifice and filial love. Most of the years 1533 and 1534 were devoted to the Medici Chapel, carving the Day and Twilight, while Montorsolo finished the two ducal statues. In September of the latter year, Angelo went to Rome, just in time to be present at the death of Clement VII., after which he abode in Rome, and the works on the chapel and the library ceased.

The Medici Chapel was finished in 1534, and is a broad and massive piece of architecture, replete with harmonious simplicity and dignity. It is quadrangular, with arched recesses in each side, one of which is prolonged into a chancel, and decorated with a white marble altar and candelabra, designed by Angelo. The walls are adorned with two series of Corinthian pilasters; and on each side of the niches are doors, eight in number, most of which are merely ornamental. In 1533 Angelo approved of the designs of Giovanni da Udine, who decorated the interior of the dome with richly-colored arabesques and ornaments in stucco. All these have since been removed or whitewashed, leaving the chapel most poor in color. It contains the monuments of the two Medici Dukes, and an unfinished Madonna, by Angelo, with other contemporary statues. On one side is the mausoleum of Giuliano de' Medici, Duke of Nemours, son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and brother of Pope Leo X., surmounted by Angelo's statue of Giuliano, in a sitting posture, clad in armor, and holding loosely in one hand the baton of a general, and in the other the golden coins of an Italian conspirator. The upturned

countenance is handsome but unintelligent, and is of the same type as those of the statues of David and Adonis, though bereft equally of mind and of heroism. Below this statue, and over the tomb, are the seated statues of Day and Night: the former, a gigantic figure, instinct with resistless power and prophetic hope; the latter, a female form, constrained and uneasy, with an expression of grievous and hopeless suffering.

Opposite Giuliano's monument is that of Lorenzo de' Medici, the Duke of Urbino, the grandson of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and the father of Catherine de' Medici and of Alexander, the Duke of Florence. The Italians call this statue *Il Pensiero* (the thought), so profoundly is the air of deep contemplation and mental agony shown by the attitude. It is clad in splendid armor, with a fantastic helmet overshadowing the grave and intellectual features, the chin resting on one hand, and the feet crossed in front. Heath Wilson says: "throughout the whole range of the creations of art, of whatever time, it would be vain to look for a face which expresses, as this does, such deep and hopeless mental suffering." Below this grand achievement of art are two sitting statues, both nude;

the one a male figure representing the Twilight, the other a female figure representing the Dawn, full of the expression of perfect womanhood, yet bearing a face utterly sorrowful and hopeless. The statue of Dawn has been called the most beautiful of Angelo's works, and the one which most surely surpasses the masterpieces of the ancients. Some dispute has arisen as to which of these tombs and statues is that of Lorenzo, and which that of Giuliano, since even the artist himself confessed that he had not adhered to nature in portraying their faces.

Many writers have advanced many theories as to the meaning of the allegorical statues in the Medici Chapel, and all seem desirous of finding some recondite symbolism therein. One sees in the Dawn the opening of a gloomy day for Florence, under the despotic Medici; in the Twilight, the evening of sorrow falling upon the devoted city; in the Night, the doleful eclipse of liberty; and in the Day, the prophecy of the heroic freedom of the future. But would the man who had been nurtured from his boyhood by the Medici, and had enjoyed from them the richest patronage of his maturer years, would he, however

much a Florentine, be so ignoble as thus to insult them in their graves? Or, if he would, could he, with a Medici on the Papal throne, supervising and paying for the work, and another on the throne of Florence?

Neither of the four allegorical statues is finished, but the ducal statues are complete in all parts, thanks to the labors of the monk Montorsolo. In the tomb of Lorenzo, his son Alexander was also interred, in 1536; and this sepulchre was opened in 1875, under circumstances of the greatest barbarity. The remains of the two Medici princes were found, carefully laid out, embalmed and robed; but the rabble of people who were present pulled the bodies to fragments, carrying off pieces of the garments, and even small bones as mementos, after which the desecrated remains were flung back in a confused heap.

Late in 1534 the new Pope, Paul III. (Alexander Farnese, one of Borgia's Cardinals) proposed to retain Angelo at Rome, since he was a lover of letters and art, and admired the great sculptor's works. The Pope and ten of his cardinals visited the studio, to see the designs for 'The Last Judgment' and the Julian statues; and the Cardinal of

Mantua exclaimed that the statue of Moses was enough to do all honor to the memory of Julius.

In September, 1535, Angelo was appointed Chief Architect, Sculptor and Painter of the Apostolic Palace, with all the honors and privileges of the Papal Court, and a salary of 1,200 golden crowns a year. Half of this sum was to be derived from a ferry over the River Po, which was granted to him for life, but afterwards became almost valueless by the establishment of a rival ferry. The Duke of Urbino, whose interest it was to keep the favor of the Pope, ceased to urge Angelo to carry out even his last and most easy contract. It was dangerous to trifle with the interests of a potentate who had just laid all England under interdict, and excommunicated its king (Henry VIII.). During this year died the generous and handsome Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, who had been a firm friend of Titian and Angelo. The latter once admired his magnificent Turkish horse, and soon afterwards it was sent to the studio as a present, attended by ten mules laden with provender.

The execution of the immense fresco of 'The Last Judgment,' covering one end of the Sistine Chapel, had been devolved upon Angelo by Pope

Clement VII., in 1534, but probably it was not begun until early in 1535. The master had the wall lined with carefully-selected bricks, and made it lean forward at the top, to prevent dust from resting on the picture. Sebastiano del Piombo prepared it for painting in oil; but Angelo ordered the cement scraped off, observing that oil-painting was fit only for women and rich amateurs, but fresco was the method for men and artists. The opposite wall of the Chapel was to have been covered with a fresco representing the Fall of the Rebel Angels, for which Angelo made designs.

The Last Judgment had already been portrayed by Giotto, Orcagna, Fra Angelico, Signorelli, and others, with gravity and dignity in the main actions, and ludicrous inanities in the representation of the terrors of hell. The marvellous mystery alluded to in Revelation xx. 11–15, was the theme of those masters, and now challenged and defeated even Angelo's pencil. Vasari says that the master's great admiration for Luca Signorelli's picture of the same scene, at Orvieto, "led him to courteously make use of some parts of it, such as angels, demons, &c., and even to imitate Signorelli's manner, as anybody may see." While engaged on this work.

he used to paint a nude figure, larger than life, in two days; and he could have executed the entire work in a year, but that he needed such long periods of repose that over six years were consumed upon it, and it was not completed until late in 1541.

Towards the end of 1537 the fame of the new fresco going on in the Sistine Chapel had spread widely over Italy, and Pietro Aretino, Titian's intimate friend, wrote a long and sycophantic letter to the master, asking for a picture from his hand, and promising to pay for it by "heralding his genius." Angelo's answer shows at once his scorn of the venal parasite, and his fear of arousing his merciless satire.

When the painting was nearly done, Angelo fell from his scaffold, while at work, and injured his leg seriously. He was carried home, but with his usual eccentricity refused to allow any one to give him assistance, until the surgeon Rontini, his friend, forced a way in, and remained until the artist had recovered.

During one of his frequent visits to the Sistine Chapel, the Pope was attended by Biagio da Cesena, his master of ceremonies, whom he asked

for his opinion on the new fresco. Biagio bluntly answered that so many naked figures seemed to him very immodest, and rather fit for bath-rooms and stables than for a chapel. The angry artist took his revenge by painting a portrait of Biagio in the fresco, with asses' ears, acting as Minos, the master of ceremonies in hell. The injured official begged the Pope to have justice done, but Paul replied, "If the painter had placed thee in purgatory, I should have used every effort to help thee; but since he has put thee in hell, it is useless to have recourse to me, because *ex infernis nulla est redemptio*." Nevertheless, Biagio was right, and the impropriety of using the great theme of the *Dies Iræ* as an opportunity for a painter to show his rare dexterity in depicting the naked human form was recognized by subsequent Popes; and Paul IV., after resolving to destroy the fresco, compromised by having the nude figures draped by Daniele da Volterra, who thereafter bore the nickname of "the breeches-maker." There are 314 figures and heads represented in this vast fresco which Lanzi calls "a profusion of nudity," and Hawthorne saw as "a sprawl of nakedness."

The composition of the fresco is marvellously

clear, by reason of its skilful arrangement of four well-balanced groups; and the drawing of most of the figures is unsurpassably fine. Twenty-two years had elapsed since Angelo painted the vaulting of the Chapel, and he was sixty-six years old when the Last Judgment was finished; but the latter shows a great increase of power and facility, rather than a decadence, although he had done no fresco-painting in the mean time. He now had greater self-confidence, and his cartoons were hardly more than outlines. The coloring was of the monumental order, broad and carefully modelled, and marked by a realistic chiaroscuro very different from the poetic simplicity of the elder artists. Yet two noticeable faults are seen, in the monotonous similarity of the figures, and their appearance of the same age; while other indications show that he drew them without models, and hence without the variety of humanity.

In the upper arches of the wall are two garland-like groups of angels, bearing the Cross and the column of the Flagellation. Below these is Christ, the Rhadamanthine Judge, nearly nude, with the face of Apollo and the muscles of a gladiator, half-rising to pronounce the dread sentence, while He

points to the wound in His side. About Him are many renowned saints, — the Madonna, gazing mildly at the blessed and redeemed souls; Adam and Eve, curiously regarding the Judge; and a group of pleading Apostles, bearing their emblems. These are surrounded by a vast throng of saints and martyrs, safe in Heaven, all of whom exemplify the saying that "Michael Angelo nowhere admits, either into Heaven or Hell, any but the physically powerful." Below the Judge are four angels blowing trumpets towards the four quarters of the universe, and four others holding the books by which the dead are to be judged. Under these the land and sea are giving up their dead. On the right the blessed are caught upward, aided by angels, but with expressionless faces; and on the left the lost souls are being precipitated into the horrible pit, with exulting demons dragging them to their doom. In this last section the real power of the picture appears, in the utter terror and undying woe imprinted on the faces of the damned, mingled with intense agony and unavailing rage.

Whatever may have been its defects in other respects, as a work of art the Last Judgment was one of the grandest productions of the famous art-

century. But the vivid blue of the sky, the lurid flames of the Inferno, the varied glow of light and dark flesh-tints, have long since faded into a uniform dinginess, obscured by the smoke of candles and censers, overlaid with dust and cobwebs, daubed here and there by journeymen-restorers, and battered by the ladders of church-decorators.

In September, 1539, the patient Duke of Urbino wrote to Angelo, begging him that when the Last Judgment should be finished, he would remember his duty to Pope Julius II., and complete the long-delayed monument. The master showed his regard for Urbino by designing for him a great salt-cellar, which was executed in silver-gilt.

The architectural splendors of the Roman Capitol were now about to be revived by a society of patriotic citizens, and Angelo was chosen to design the work. He formed the plan of the Piazza del Campidoglio, as it now stands, although it was not completed for many years. The equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius was brought hither, to serve as a central figure, and the façades of the Palaces of the Museum and of the Conservatori were rebuilt in the new manner of Angelo, with Corinthian pilasters superimposed on massive piers, and suc-

cessive stories of semi-templar architecture. He also planned the stairways to the Convent of the Aracœli, on the highest part of the hill, where the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus formerly stood; and the stairways to the Palace of the Senator were executed under his care, as an architectural background to the statue of Aurelius.

In 1542 the famous architect Sangallo finished the Pauline Chapel, in the Vatican; and Pope Paul III., after whom it was named, desired Angelo to adorn it with frescos. But the artist felt that he was already far gone in years, and that if he ever intended to finish the Julian monument he must now be about it, wherefore he earnestly opposed this new diversion of his time. The Pope once more appealed to the Duke of Urbino, and that courteous prince wrote to the master, telling him that he would be satisfied if he should place on the monument the three statues which he had finished, and supervise the execution of the other three by "any good and praiseworthy master."

Angelo commenced his work in the Pauline Chapel late in 1542, the year in which the Council of Trent began, and continued it throughout 1543 without remission. The Pope was now building a

magnificent palace for his family (Farnese), with Sangallo as the architect; and requested Angelo's opinion as to the design for its cornice. He submitted a harsh report, upbraiding the inconsistencies of Sangallo's plan, and quoting Vitruvius against him. He was called upon to build a stairway at the Belvedere Palace, and also to restore the ancient Bridge of Santa Maria, both of which tasks were successfully accomplished.

In June, 1544, the master was attacked by a serious illness, and his friends had him removed to the Strozzi Palace, where he was carefully tended by his dear companion, Luigi del Riccio, and frequently visited by the eminent men of Rome. He caused Luigi to send a message to the King of France, begging him to restore the liberties of Florence, and promising therefor to erect a bronze equestrian statue of His Majesty, free of cost, in the Piazza della Signoria. Leonardo Buonarroti came down from Florence to attend his sick uncle, but the old man would not receive him, saying that he had come only to secure his estate. His home had been an unpleasant one, and his relatives were sordid and rapacious, wherefore he would have none of them in his hours of extremity.

After many troubles, attested now by his passionate letters, the master succeeded in finishing the Julian monument, in the year 1545, and after forty years of bitter annoyance "the tragedy of the sepulchre" came to an end. The monument now stands in the lonely Church of San Pietro in Vincoli, of which Julius had been the titular Cardinal, and is adorned by seven statues, besides several terminal figures and other details. On the upper part is a recumbent figure of Julius, wretchedly executed by Maso del Bosco; and a pleasing group of the Madonna and Child, blocked out by Angelo, and finished by Montelupo. At the sides are the inferior statues of the Prophet and the Sibyl, which Angelo designed and carried far forward, and Montelupo completed. On the lower stage are the statues of Moses, Rachel, and Leah, nearly all parts of which were finished by the great master himself. Rachel is kneeling, with her eyes and hands uplifted as if in prayer, and represents the Contemplative Life; and Leah, with her mirror and wreath of flowers, personifies the Active Life. In these figures, larger than life-size, Angelo followed the inspiration of Dante, but very far off.

The statue of Moses, the friend of God, redeems

all the defects of other parts of the monument, in its rare power and grandeur. The great lawgiver is shown in a sitting posture, but is starting forward under the influence of strong and sudden emotion, clutching his long beard with one hand, and gazing with a look of mingled indignation and contempt. Near the top of his forehead two horns project, a representation arising from an erroneous translation of a Hebrew word, so that the Vulgate Bible renders Exodus xxxiv. 29, "He knew not that his face was horned," instead of "He wist not that the skin of his face shone." The drapery is finished with great skill, and shows the strong and graceful outlines of the body beneath. Vasari says that after the Moses was finished, crowds of Jews came to see it every Saturday, adoring it as a divine work.

When the Pope determined to fortify the Leonine City, the part of Rome in which the Vatican stands, he appointed a commission of artillerists and engineers to plan the work, with Angelo and others as consulting architects. The master had sharp words with Sangallo, even in the Papal presence, and forced important changes to be made in the defences.

In 1545 Titian dwelt in Rome for several months, painting portraits of the Farnese princes; and Angelo visited him in a friendly manner, and commended his coloring, but not his drawing, saying also, "He has an exquisite perception, and a delightful spirit and manner."

Early in 1546 the master fell so ill that it was widely reported that he was dead, and Leonardo Buonarroti hastened to Rome once more to see him. But he quickly recovered, and sent large gifts of money to his family in Florence. He was soon able to attend the meetings of the fortifications commission, where he steadily opposed Sangallo, and offered plans of his own devising. About this time, also, King Francis I. of France sent Primaticcio to secure for him a specimen of Angelo's work; and the gratified artist promised, even at his great age, to prepare for him a work in marble, another in bronze, and a painting. "Should death interrupt this desire, then, if it be possible to sculpture or paint in the other world, I shall not fail to do so, where no one becomes old." During this year he lost his income from the ferry on the River Po, and declined the chancellorship of Rimini, which the Pope offered him as a com-

pensation. The roof of the Pauline Chapel was partly destroyed by fire, about this time, and the inchoate frescos were menaced with destruction.

The master next added a magnificent classic cornice to the Farnese Palace, a part of his original design having been executed in wood and put up on the façade, and when the Pope approved it, it was duplicated in stone. The upper story of this most sumptuous palace was constructed by the master; and the plan of its admirable arcaded court was adapted by him from that of the Theatre of Marcellus (whence, and from the Coliseum, the stone for the palace was taken). He also made the plans for a bridge over the Tiber, to connect the Farnese Palace with the Villa Farnesina.

There are several fine palaces in Florence, Pisa, Bologna, and other North-Italian cities, which it is claimed were built from Angelo's designs. Numerous fountains, cloisters, and statues, in those cities are referred to the same origin; and the claims are probably justifiable in some cases.

CHAPTER VII.

Vittoria Colonna. — Angelo's Poetry. — Leonardo Buonarroti. — Pupils and Friends. — Mode of Work.

INTO these late years of the lonely life of the great Angelo, a new element of joy and elevation entered, in the noble friendship of Vittoria Colonna. She was born in 1490 at the Colonna castle of Marino, and was the daughter of Fabrizio Colonna and Agnes of Montefeltro. When five years old she was betrothed to Ferrante, the son of the Marquis of Pescara, whom she married in her nineteenth year; and lived thereafter in great happiness, he being a handsome and courteous noble, famous in war as well as in letters and art. Their palace in the island of Ischia was the resort of the great scholars and captains of Italy for years, until the fatal ambition of Ferrante led him to betray his country for the vain bauble of the crown of Naples; and amid his schemes and campaigns, he died, of wounds received at the battle of Pavia, in 1525. Vittoria was inconsolable for the loss of

her brilliant and gifted husband, and desired to enter a nunnery; but the Pope forbade, and she retired for rest to the Roman convent of San Silvestro in Capite, a dependency of the Colonna family, annexed to their palace-garden. There she remained for years, "to weep, to pray, to study, to write, and to stretch out her hands with benefits for her kind," until her mind became once more serene, and she returned to the society of her rank. Nearer than all others was the venerable painter of the Sistine Chapel, into whose stormy and unhappy career she brought an unwonted peace and brightness. He first met her at some time between 1532 and 1536, and enjoyed her deep attachment for fifteen years.

Angelo designed two or three pictures for Vittoria, of one of which she wrote: "I had the greatest faith in God, that He would give you a supernatural grace to paint this Christ; then I saw it, so wonderful that it surpassed in every way my expectations. Being emboldened by your miracles, I desired that which I now see marvellously fulfilled, that is, that it should stand in every part in the highest perfection, and that one could not desire more nor reach forward to desire so much

And I tell you that it gave me joy that the angel on the right hand is so beautiful; for the Archangel Michael will place you, Michael Angelo, on the right hand of the Lord at the Judgment-Day. And meanwhile I know not how to serve you otherwise than to pray to this sweet Christ, Whom you have so well and perfectly painted, and to entreat you to command me as altogether yours in all and through all." Angelo also drew the portrait of Vittoria, which Marcello Venusti painted, showing a tall and stately figure in black velvet, with a white widow's veil, and a noble but weary face, filled with deep repose.

In 1541 the cause of the reformation of the Church from within appeared hopeless; and the triumvirate of saintly women, Vittoria Colonna, Renée of Ferrara, and Margaret of Navarre, though aided by the English Cardinal Pole and the Venetian Cardinal Contarini, lost heart amid the general demoralization of the clergy. Pole retired to Viterbo, accompanied by Vittoria and her friends; and Contarini died of grief and disappointment, at Bologna. But Vittoria was still and ever a Colonna, and endured the new reverses with dignity and fortitude.

She gave to Angelo a vellum book, containing 103 of her sonnets, and afterwards sent to him the 40 new ones which she composed at the convent of Viterbo. He probably returned the favor by sending to her, with whom he was in continual correspondence, the verses which he himself composed. In 1542 she wrote from Viterbo, saying: "Magnificent Master, Michael Angelo: I have not answered your letter before, thinking that if you and I continue to write according to my obligation and your courtesy, it will be necessary that I leave St. Catherine's Chapel, without finding myself with the Sisters at the appointed hours, and that you must abandon the Pauline Chapel, and not keep yourself all the day long in sweet colloquy with your paintings, . . . so that I from the brides of Christ, and you from His Vicar, shall fall away." Thus this pure soul, yearning to sever itself from all earthly ties, and to prepare itself for Heaven, took measures to break off the congenial correspondence which still sometimes recalled it to the affairs of time.

During the last years of Vittoria's life, she remained in Rome, and frequently called upon Angelo where he was at work, while many were the

visits which he made at her house. They seldom spoke of love, but rather of religion, of poesy, and of art, in the absorbing pursuit of lofty and divine thoughts. Among the members of the circle of which Vittoria was the chief ornament were Cardinals Sadoleto, Pole, and Morone, with whom she doubtless spoke much of the reforming doctrines then advancing in the Church. She was deeply influenced by the earnest preaching and holy life of Fra Bernardino of Siena (Fra Ochino), and said, "May it please God to let him persevere in his good work!" but after he had become a Protestant, she sadly rejected his teachings, and wrote to Pope Marcellus that Ochino was "out of the Ark which saves and protects."

Like his spiritual and saintly lady, Angelo shared in the wide-spread hope that a reformation was about to occur within the Church, and transferred to Ochino the same earnest support which he had formerly given to Savonarola. But when the Pope drove out the purifying innovators with the sword of the Inquisition, he remained in the Church, as Vittoria also did, although some of his sonnets are filled with a spirit of pure religion such as was not common at Rome in his day.

Angelo was indeed ready for the upward movement of the Church, for which he felt the deep need, in view of the degradation of the clergy. When he heard that Sebastiano was about to paint the figure of a monk in a certain chapel, he said that it would ruin the chapel. "The monks have corrupted the whole world: a single one, therefore, is sufficient to spoil a small chapel." He was quick to detect and resent hypocrisy in the laity also, an amusing instance of which he shows in a letter to his nephew: "To-day I have had a letter from the weaver's wife, who says that she wished to provide a wife for thee. . . . She has written me a long Bible with a small sermon, advising me to live righteously and to give alms; and she says that she has inspired thee to live like a Christian, and that she was moved by God to give thee that damsel. I should say that she would be better occupied in spinning and weaving than in disposing of so much sanctimoniousness."

In the winter of 1544–5 Vittoria retired to the Benedictine nunnery of St. Anna, the Colonna palaces having been confiscated by the Pope, and there remained in peace, composing poems filled with sweet and saintly thoughts, and devout prayers

in the Latin tongue. Early in 1547 she was stricken with a mortal illness, and was removed to the palace of her noble kinswoman, Giulia (Colonna) Cesarini, where she soon died, surrounded by grieving friends. Angelo wrote four sonnets to her memory, into which he poured his whole soul, with all the earnestness and vitality, ingenuity and quaintness, which characterized the poems addressed to her while yet living.

Condivi, Angelo's pupil, says: "He deeply loved the Marchioness of Pescara, of whose divine spirit he was enamoured, while she tenderly loved him in return; and of whom he still holds many letters, filled with honest and most sweet love, such as should issue from such a heart, he himself having written to her many sonnets replete with talent and sweet longing. Many times she moved from Viterbo and other places, where she went for recreation, and to spend the summers, and came to Rome, for no other reason than to see Michael Angelo. And he bore such a love to her, that I remember to have heard him say, that he grieved at nothing so much as that when he went to see her pass from this life, he had not kissed her brow or her face, as he kissed her hand. After her death he frequently stood

trembling and as if insensible. . . . I have often heard him speak about love; and others who have listened to him on this subject will bear me out in saying that the only love of which he spoke was that kind which is spoken of in Plato's works. For my part, I do not know what Plato says, but one thing I, who have lived with him so long and so intimately, can assert, that I have never heard any but the purest words issue from his mouth." A priest one day asked him why he had never married, and he answered, "I have a wife who is too much for me already; one who unceasingly persecutes me. It is my art; and my works are my children."

Angelo wrote verses even from his youth, when he was under the influence of the poets of the Medici household; but his most fruitful period in this regard was that of his later years, when he enjoyed the friendship of Vittoria Colonna. His rare originality and loftiness of mind, as reflected in these sonnets, and the crystallizations of his religious and patriotic aspirations therein preserved, can only be alluded to here. Giannotti praised the Dantesque form of Angelo's poems, Berni called them a mine of Platonic philosophy, and Varchi reviewed them before the Florentine Academy. Several of

the madrigals were set to music by eminent Italian composers. In 1623 the collected poems were published by Angelo's namesake and grand-nephew; and in 1863 a fuller edition was published by Guasti, with essays by Guiducci and Varchi. Wordsworth, Coleridge, Symonds, Longfellow, and Norton have translated many of them, with great care and success. Wordsworth said that Angelo's poems are "the most difficult to construe I ever met with, but just what you would expect from such a man, showing abundantly how conversant his soul was with great things."

Although Angelo's poetry is more in the manner of Petrarch, his works of art suggest the profound influence of Dante. His copy of Dante was a large folio, with Landino's commentaries; and on its broad margins he made many pen-and-ink sketches of the themes suggested by the text. This priceless book was afterwards lost by shipwreck. Condivi says that his master knew the Divina Commedia by heart, and he also committed to memory nearly all of Petrarch's sonnets.

Angelo's power as a poet can best be illustrated by two of his sonnets, in Wordsworth's translations, the first to Christ, the second to Dante: —

"Eternal Lord! eased of a cumbrous load,
And loosened from the world, I turn to Thee;
Shun, like a shattered bark, the storm, and flee
To Thy protection for a safe abode.
The crown of thorns, hands pierced upon the tree,
The meek, benign, and lacerated face,
To a sincere repentance promise grace,
To the sad soul give hope of pardon free.
With justice mark not Thou, O Light divine,
My fault, nor hear it with Thy sacred ear;
Neither put forth that way Thy hand severe:
Wash with Thy blood my sins; thereto incline
More readily, the more my years require
Help and forgiveness speedy and entire"

"How shall we speak of him, for our blind eyes
Are all unequal to his dazzling rays!
Easier it is to blame his enemies
Than for the tongue to tell his highest pra se.
For us did he explore the realms of woe;
And at his coming did high heaven expand
Her lofty gates, to whom his native land
Refused to open hers. Yet shalt thou know,
Ungrateful city, in thine own despite,
That thou hast foster'd best thy Dante's fame;
For virtue when oppressed appears more bright,
And brighter therefore shall his glory be,
Suffering of all mankind most wrongfully,
Since in the world there lives no greater name."

During these later years the master kept up a constant correspondence with Leonardo, his favorite nephew, who frequently sent him presents of rich Trebbian wine, cheeses, fruits, and other delicacies. He tells but little concerning his works in art, but speaks frequently of the infirmities of age, and of his maladies, and directs the disposal of considerable sums of money which he sent for charities. He not only gave much wise counsel to his nephew, but also aided him in more material ways, yet he refused to allow him to throw away money by coming to Rome. Leonardo had been his agent in purchasing several estates near Florence, and he afterwards asked him to buy for him a house in the city, in the home-quarter of the Buonarroti. The suburban properties thus acquired — the Capiteto farm, in 1506; La Loggia, in 1512; Fitto, in 1519; and various other Tuscan estates — were for the most part allowed to benefit his family, to whom their rentals passed.

His deep interest in Leonardo Buonarroti was manifested, now by the most endearing language, and now by fiery denunciations. He was greatly interested in selecting a wife for the young man, by whom the family name and property might be

transmitted. Thus he advised: "Leonardo, I wrote to thee about taking a wife, and told thee of three girls which have here been mentioned to me. . . . I do not know any of them, and cannot say either good or evil of them, nor advise you about one more than the other. . . . Giovan Francesco might give you good advice: he is old, and knows the world. Remember me to him. Above all, seek the counsel of God, for it is a great step. Remember that the husband should be at least ten years older than the wife, and that she should be healthy." Again he wrote: "Leonardo, I sent thee in my last a note of marriageable girls, which had been sent me from Florence. . . . Thou needest a wife to associate with, and whom thou canst rule, and who will not care about pomps, and run about every day to parties and marriages. It is easy for a woman to go wrong who does these things. Nor is it to be said by any one, that thou wishest to ennoble thyself by marriage; for it is well known that we are as ancient and noble citizens of Florence as those of any other house. Recommend thyself to God, that he may aid thee."

At last, in 1553, Leonardo acceded to his uncle's wishes, and married Cassandra Ridolfi, upon

whom Angelo settled 1,500 ducats, sending her also two precious rings. Henceforward it was the old man's delight to write to the young couple, exulting in the birth of their children, and pragmatically dictating the names of the new-born Buonarroti. The fair Cassandra also returned to him messages of love and kindly gifts.

Angelo had a great taste for genealogical studies, and an overweening pride of family, believing himself to be descended from the Counts of Canossa. He narrated to Leonardo his researches as to the history of the Buonarroti, and said, "Some day when I have time I shall inform you of our origin, and whence and when we came to Florence." Again he wrote: "Tell the priest not to address 'Michael Angelo, Sculptor,' for I am known only as Michael Angelo Buonarroti: if a Florentine citizen wishes to have a picture painted for an altar, let him find a painter, for I never was painter nor sculptor, as those who make merchandise of it."

The house which Leonardo finally built, at his uncle's order, is on the Via Ghibellina, near Santa Croce, and now belongs to the city of Florence, being the seat of a museum of designs and casts

by the great master, pictures and busts of the Buonarroti family, idealized pictures of scenes in Angelo's life, and other priceless mementos. It is a large and substantial house, with antique and inconvenient rooms.

Angelo's abode at Rome was near the Forum of Trajan, in the valley between the Capitoline and Quirinal Hills, and has since been destroyed. It consisted of a group of houses, among which were the residence-building, the studio, dwellings for the assistants, a stable, and a tower. The estate also included a small garden, abounding in shady laurel-trees. For many years Francesco d'Urbino was the major-domo, and dwelt there with his family; and there was also a maid-servant, the daughter of a neighbor.

Among the artists who felt Angelo's influence and direction, besides Vasari, Condivi, Urbano, Mini, and Sebastiano, was Guglielmo della Porta, who succeeded Sebastiano as Keeper of the Papal Seal, by Angelo's intercession. He was associated with the master at the Farnese Palace, and in other works of architecture and sculpture. Another eminent coadjutor at the Farnese was Vignola, who succeeded Angelo as Architect of St. Peter's and of

the Capitol, and built the Porta del Popolo from his plans. Ammanati also derived from personal contact with the master much of that boldness of conception which enabled him to erect the colossal statues of Neptune and Hercules, at Florence and Padua, and the gigantic statue of Mount Apennine, 60 feet high, at Pratolino. Tribolo, the designer of the Boboli Gardens, was another of those who were illuminated by Angelo's genius, having been his assistant in the Medicean Chapel. Marco da Pino of Siena held the position of a friend and confidant, and subsequently adorned the Kingdom of Naples, with both paintings and architecture. Berruguete, the Spaniard, who built the Alcalà Palace, and executed other great works in his own country, studied under the care of Angelo. Alessi, the constructor of the fortress of Perugia, and the designer of many of the superb palaces of Genoa, was connected with the same great master in his early life. Calcagni, a young Florentine architect, dwelt with Angelo during his last decade, and drew many plans under his direction.

Daniele da Volterra was one of Angelo's warmest friends, and received the most material assistance from him, both officially and socially. The master

furnished the design from which he painted his most famous work, 'The Deposition from the Cross,' in the Church of SS. Trinità de' Monti.

Marcello Venusti was a young Mantuan artist, who came under Angelo's patronage at Rome, and painted many pictures from his grand designs, enlightening them with a delicate and exquisitely-finished coloring. Among these joint works, now of inestimable value, were the small copy of the Last Judgment, the portrait of Vittoria Colonna, the Christ on the Mount of Olives, and a noble and innocent Holy Family. Venusti also painted pictures from several of the designs which Angelo drew for Cavalieri, — notably an Annunciation, now in the Lateran sacristy.

Tommaso de' Cavalieri, a member of one of the old Roman families, and a man of amiable mind and charming manners, became one of Angelo's most beloved and intimate friends, and was addressed by him, as early as 1545, in impassioned and eulogistic letters. He gave him several sketches and cartoons, since he was an amateur artist, and also drew his portrait. Cavalieri was present at the death-bed of his aged friend, many years later. Another dear friend was Luigi del Riccio, the intendant of the

Strozzi Palace, one of his wisest and most constant advisers. When the youth Cecchino Bracci, beloved by Riccio, died, Angelo designed a monument for him (now in the Aracœli Church), and wrote no fewer than forty-three epitaphs, from which Riccio should select one to be carved on the tomb.

Lomazzo says that Cardinal Farnese once met Angelo, during his later years, in solitary contemplation amid the ruins of the Coliseum, and he answered the prelate's query by saying, "I go yet to school, that I may continue to learn." He once drew a picture of an old man in a child's carriage, with the motto, "I still learn." The anatomical studies begun in his youth, at Florence, were never given up, and when other subjects were wanting he dissected horses and domestic animals. He was greatly pleased by a gift from Colombo, of the body of a fine young Moor, which he dissected at Condivi's house. The anatomical treatises of Dürer and Da Vinci were known to him, and he intended to write a similar work, but of broader scope. He had often declared that he owed his power of representing the human form to his frequent contemplation of the wonderful fragment of

antique Greek sculpture, known as the Torso Belvedere. Even in his later years, when he had abandoned sculpture and painting, he was accustomed to visit the Vatican as often as possible, in order to admire and enjoy the grand lines of the Torso. Allston finds in this headless and limbless trunk the germ of the gigantic prophets and Sibyls of the Sistine Chapel. (The statement advanced by Hare, and others, that he was led hither, being blind, is unfounded, since he retained all his faculties to the last.)

Such was the delicacy of his taste in regard to the implements of his art, that he was accustomed to make his own piercers, files, and chisels, and to prepare, mix, and manipulate his own colors.

From childhood he had been troubled by a weak constitution, and had been remarkably abstemious and continent, saying, "However rich I may have been, I have always lived as a poor man." He slept but little, and ate irregularly; and was subject to frequent headaches and attacks of indigestion. In later years he was troubled by cramp in the legs, for whose relief he wore tightly-fitting drawers of dog-skin. He frequently rose from his bed, during the night, to carve or design, placing on his head a

cap with a candle fixed in its front, so that his hands were left at liberty. He rarely gave or accepted invitations to dine out, and was averse to compromising his freedom by receiving any attentions or gifts.

Vigenero described Angelo's mode of work thus: "I have seen Michael Angelo, although sixty years of age, and not one of the most robust of men, smite down more scales from a very hard block of marble in a quarter of an hour, than three young marble-cutters could in three or four times that space, which must seem incredible to those who have not seen it done. He flung himself upon the marble with such impetuosity and fervor, as to induce me to believe that he would break the work into fragments. With a single blow he brought down scales of marble of three or four inches breadth, and with such precision to the line marked on the marble, that if he had broken away a very little more, he risked the ruin of his work."

CHAPTER VIII.

The Basilica of St. Peter's. — The Pauline Chapel. — Florentine Offers. — The Great Dome. — The Last Sculpture. —Death of Angelo.

SANGALLO died in the autumn of 1546, and Angelo was immediately appointed to his place as Architect of St. Peter's, although he objected, saying, as often before, that architecture was not his profession. He was also commissioned to build the bulwarks and redoubts of the Leonine City, from which he was in time relieved by Castriotto, a veteran of Urbino. The master was seventy-one years old when he accepted the control of St. Peter's, and the remaining eighteen years of his life were sacredly devoted to it. He refused all remuneration, and insisted that his services should be devoted solely to the honor of God and of St. Peter, whereby he was able to defy the intrigues of his rivals and adversaries, and to repress the peculations of his subordinates. He took up the work projected by others, and endeavored to restore

Bramante's original plan of a Greek cross, repudiating Sangallo's deviations therefrom, and saying that "Any one who departs from Bramante's plan, like Sangallo, departs from the truth." The partisans of the preceding architect maintained a deep and intriguing hostility against Angelo; and he was led to hasten the work on St. Peter's greatly, in order that it might be so far finished at his death that the plans could not be altered by his enemies. In writing to Vasari, he said: "I should love to lay my bones near those of my father, as you urge me to do; but, did I leave Rome at present, I should be the cause of great harm to St. Peter's, bring disgrace upon myself, and commit a grievous sin." Out of the confusion wrought by the diverse plans of Raphael, Peruzzi, and Sangallo, traversing the first design of Bramante, Angelo was forced to call order, not by selecting one of the previous plans obscured by ill-devised additions, but by a new creation of his own.

His first studies seem to have been directed towards designing a more imposing dome than those which his predecessors had planned, and the indomitable old man boldly said that he would suspend the dome of the Pantheon in air, over

the tomb of St. Peter. We cannot ascertain where he acquired the great mathematical knowledge essential to this work, unless perchance it was during his exile among the marble mountains; for he certainly had no such privileges in his youth, and the architecture of his maturer years is defective in many ways.

Late in 1547 Duke Cosmo de' Medici offered to make Angelo a Senator of Florence, and to give him any other office which he might wish, if he would return to the Tuscan capital, and complete his abandoned works, and undertake certain new ones. But this invitation was declined, since too many and great enterprises were under way in Rome. Volterra reported, some years later, that "he absented himself from his beloved Florence only on account of the quality of the air, experience having taught him that it was inimical to his nature on account of its sharp and subtile nature; while the softer and more tempered climate of Rome kept him in good health up to his ninetieth year, with all his faculties as perfect and vigorous as they ever had been."

The venerable master, tortured with the pains of disease, still kept at his work on the scaffolds in the

Pauline Chapel, although he wrote to Vasari that it cost him "much fatigue, for it appears that fresco-painting is not an art for old men." Early in 1549 he wrote to Leonardo, saying: "I have been very ill, groaning all night with pain, unable to sleep, without rest. The doctors tell me that my disease is stone. I have need of help from God. Tell Francesca to pray for me, for if she saw how I am she would know that she has a companion in misery. Otherwise I am like a man who is not yet quite thirty years of age." Later in the spring he was greatly relieved by drinking a certain water brought from a spring forty miles from Rome, and wrote: "With regard to my disease, I am better; and now there is hope, to the astonishment of all, for I was thought to be dying, and so I believed. I have had a good physician, but I believe more in the efficacy of prayer."

The frescos in the Pauline Chapel were finished in 1549, seven years after their beginning, during which period there were many long intermissions of labor and diversions to other duties. The subjects are the Conversion of St. Paul and the Crucifixion of St. Peter. The last frescos of Michael Angelo can only be spoken of with respect and

forbearance. Indeed, they have been so disfigured by neglect and restoration that it is impossible to imagine what their original colors were.

The Pope summoned Angelo to explain certain alleged defects in St. Peter's of which the deputies complained, especially as to the deficient light in the King's alcove, and the master demanded to hear the complainers speak. Cardinal Marcello answering for them, Angelo rejoined and made a satisfactory explanation, at which the Cardinal showed his surprise at not having before been informed. But the fearless architect replied: "I am not, nor will I consent to be, obliged to tell, to Your Eminence or any one else, what I ought or wish to do. Your office is to bring money, and guard it from thieves, and the designing of the building is left to me." Then he said to the Pope: "Holy Father, you see what I gain: if these fatigues which I endure do not benefit my soul, I lose both time and labor." The Pope, who loved him, laid his hands on his shoulders, and said: "You benefit both soul and body: do not doubt."

Late in the same year Pope Paul III. died, and was succeeded by Pope Julius III., who was as ardent an admirer of the great sculptor as his pre-

decessors had been. All the master's many enemies and the partisans of Sangallo gathered around the Pope, to poison his mind so that he might depose the Architect of St. Peter's, but without success. During this year Vasari was sojourning in Rome, and enjoyed almost daily rides and conversations with Angelo, for whom he had a filial love. After his return to Florence, for many years he solaced the declining years of his master by his sprightly letters and other attentions. In 1551 Angelo wrote to Benvenuto Cellini, whom he praised as "the greatest goldsmith who ever lived," and also as a noble sculptor. His letters to Florence express an earnest desire to return home, but show that he must remain in Rome and hurry the works on St. Peter's, so that his successors could not alter the design. He was much annoyed during these years by the meddling of the Bishop of Forli, the Papal chamberlain, whom he derisively called *Tante-cose*, or Busybody.

Early in 1552 Julius III. confirmed Angelo as Architect of St. Peter's, giving him extended and absolute authority, and forbidding any interference with his plans. The Sangallist party still menaced him, with their deep intrigues; but he was now

proof against slander, and far less sensitive than in his earlier years.

In 1553 Ascanio Condivi, one of Angelo's pupils, published a biography of his master, written in great haste, to anticipate other works of like character, but full of interest on account of its author's intimate knowledge of his subject. Vasari's great biographical work on all the Italian artists had appeared in 1550, containing forty-five pages about Angelo, who had been his former master. The sculptor acknowledged Vasari's work by an affectionate sonnet.

Condivi thus described the master's personal appearance at this time: "Of middle height, with broad shoulders and thin legs, having a large head, a face small in proportion to the size of his skull, a square forehead, full temples, high cheek-bones, and a nose made flat by the fist of that beastly and proud man, Torrigiano. His lips are thin, and the lower, being the larger, appears to protrude slightly when his face is seen in profile. His eyebrows are sparse; his eyes small, gray, spotted with yellow and blue lights, and ever varying; his hair, once black, is streaked with gray, as is his thin forked beard, which is four or five fingers'

breadth in length." This face is reproduced in eight authentic portraits, namely, Daniele of Volterra's bronze bust and a face in his fresco of the Assumption, Leone's medal, a head in Venusti's copy of 'The Last Judgment,' a portrait by Venusti, a posthumous bust from a mask, Buonasoni's engraving, and another engraving attributed to Angelo himself.

Pope Julius III. died in 1555, and was succeeded (after the brief reign of Pope Marcellus II.) by Cardinal Caraffa, who took the name of Paul IV. Paul confirmed the Architect of St. Peter's in his position and authority, for which he now believed he had a divine legation. During the same year, Angelo's beloved assistant, Amadore of Urbino, died, and he wrote: "He has been with me twenty-six years, and I found him loyal and faithful; and now that I have made him rich, and that I expected him to be the staff and rest of my old age, he has vanished from me, and no hope is left me, but to see him in Paradise. Of this, God has given me a sign in his happy death, and that it grieved him to leave me to live in this treacherous world, with its many sorrows, far more than to die." Giovan Simone Buonarroti died in

1548, deeply mourned by Angelo; and in 1555 his last remaining brother, Sigismondo, also died, after a long and arduous military life, followed by a few years of repose on his farm at Settignano. Angelo was filled with grief by these deaths, and wrote appealingly (but without avail) to Leonardo: "It would be dear for me to see you, but I know not how your love of your wife would permit you to leave Florence;" and again, "I am old, and I wish to see you before I die."

The Medici Duke of Florence now renewed his petitions to Angelo to return to the Tuscan capital, and even sent his chamberlain to Rome to make him munificent offers; but the master declined, though moved by the warmest gratitude, saying: "You must see by my handwriting that I touch the twenty-fourth hour, and no thought is now born in my mind in which death is not mixed. God grant that a few years of labor may yet be mine!" About the year 1557 the Duke of Florence visited Angelo in Rome, and had a long and familiar conversation with him. His son, also, Prince Francesco, paid his respects to the master, and showed his reverence by speaking to him with uncovered head.

At this time the great master was earnestly musing upon the approach of death, and communing with his spirit to prepare for the inevitable change. The deep experiences of religion which he had undergone during his long and blameless life were now reviewed, and the noble counsels of Savonarola and of Vittoria Colonna rose paramount in his memory, though perhaps not unaffected by the philosophic doctrines of the Medicean Neo-Platonists. The two sonnets sent to Vasari, at this time, "that you may see where I keep my thoughts," were vitalized by Christian humility and hope, and filled with the spirit of prayer. The following is from the translation of one of them in Bohn's Vasari: —

"Now in frail bark, and on the storm-tossed wave,
Doth this my life approach the common port,
Whither all haste to render up account
Of every act, — the erring and the just.
Wherefore I now do see, that by the love
Which rendered Art mine idol and my lord,
I did much err. Vain are the loves of man,
And error lurks within his every thought.
Light hours of this my life, where are ye now,
When towards a twofold death my foot draws near?

> The one well-known, the other threatening loud, —
> Not the erst worshipped Art can now give peace
> To him whose soul turns to that Love Divine,
> Whose arms shall lift him from the Cross to Heaven."

In 1556 the Pope determined to destroy the influence of Spain in Italy, whereupon his States were invaded by the Duke of Alva, whose light cavalry soon appeared before the Roman gates. The devout Duke respectfully defeated the army which the Pope had blessed and sent against him, and with great courtesy checked the anti-Spanish intrigues. The works on St. Peter's lagged during these excitements, and the architect, who had already seen enough of the horrors of sieges, left Rome for forty days, intending to make a religious pilgrimage to Loreto; but he went no farther than Spoleto, where he enjoyed a delicious season of repose, which he thus described to Vasari: "I have lately had, at some cost of money and fatigue, a great pleasure in the mountains of Spoleto, in visiting those hermits, so that but a part of me has returned to Rome; for in truth peaceful existence dwells in those woods." This is the only direct compliment which Michael Angelo ever paid to Nature.

Cosmo de' Medici was still urging Angelo to return to Florence, and he promised to do so after the works on St. Peter's were a little further advanced, explaining the necessity of his remaining yet a year longer. He was now suffering from the gout, the stone, and other afflictions, but still kept his place as the active designer, supervisor, and soul of the basilica, and vigilantly remedied all the errors of his subordinates. The Pope courteously intervened between his architect and the Duke of Florence, and persuaded the latter to curb his ardent desire to summon back the great Tuscan artist. In 1559 Catherine de' Medici wrote to Angelo, entreating him, by his love for her family, to make a design for a colossal bronze equestrian portrait-statue of her late husband, Henry II. of France, to be placed in her palace-court. Daniele da Volterra attended to the casting in bronze, and the horse was finished before he died; but the statue of the rider had not been commenced. Afterwards a statue of Louis XIII. was placed upon the horse, and set up in the Place Royale, at Paris, where it was destroyed during the French Revolution.

Angelo's powers as a painter and a sculptor were

now in abeyance, and all his soul was thrown into his architectural studies, in preparing the greatest triumph of modern constructive genius. The sublime dome of St. Peter's took form in his mind, and he had a wooden model thereof made, nearly seventeen feet high, so that his successors might have no excuse for deviating from his plans. The design included three domes, rising from the same base concentrically, — the inner one duplicating that of the Pantheon, the second supporting the lantern, and the third or outer one (of wood) to give majesty to the exterior of the basilica. The architecture was Corinthian, and a coronal of statues of saints surrounded the base of the outer curve. In spite of all precautions, however, Angelo's successors seriously impaired the grandeur of his plans by omitting the inner dome, constructing the two others of brick (bound with iron chains at the weak points), and omitting the great circle of statues. While Angelo was engaged on the building, his orders were to study for magnificence and grandeur, rather than ecònomy; and the expense of the works under his administration was nearly 440,000 ducats. He was asked if the new dome would surpass that at Florence,

and said: "It will be more grand, but not more beautiful." The great defect in the construction of St. Peter's, by which the nave is prolonged so far as to hide the dome from those near the church, was not due to Angelo, who projected a cross of equal arms, which Fontana afterwards changed to a Latin cross. The parti-colored marbles of the interior, and other deformities, were added by Bernini and his successors.

Among the dead of 1558 was Pontormo, an artist of whom Angelo had said, many years previous, "If this young man's life is spared, he will raise our Art to the skies." He had been a pupil of Leonardo da Vinci and Andrea del Sarto, and was afterwards favored with several designs by Angelo, from which he painted pictures.

Paul IV. died in 1559, and was succeeded by Pius IV., who confirmed the architect in his position, and caused Nanni Bigio, his inveterate and insidious enemy, to be dismissed from office. The Board of Works complained that Angelo was imperious and dogmatic, refusing to confer with them, and making many unnecessary demolitions without advice, so that they were little better than parrots. He answered Cardinal da Carpi, preferring to re-

sign his position rather than to submit his plans to a mere financial committee.

Among the minor works of Angelo's old age were several designs for the National Church of the Florentines at Rome, for the stairway of the Laurentian Library, and for the monument of the Marquis of Marignano, in Milan Cathedral. He also furnished plans for several of the Roman gates, which Pius IV. wished to rebuild with greater magnificence. The best of these was the Porta Pia, which was subsequently restored by Pius IX., and was badly shattered by the Italian bombardment in 1870. Another structure designed at this time was the Sforza Chapel, in the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, which Della Porta completed.

In 1561 Angelo finished one of his chief architectural works, the erection of the Church of St. Mary of the Angels, and a Carthusian monastery, amid the ruins of the Baths of Diocletian. The chief feature of these ruins was a great vaulted hall, with splendid monolithic columns of red Egyptian granite; and this the venerable architect converted into a church, a production then full of harmony and beauty, but in a later age disfigured by Vanvitelli's alterations. The convent-cloisters adjoining

the church are embellished with a hundred light and graceful columns, and surround a court whose sparkling fountain is shaded by sombre cypresses. There is a tradition that Angelo himself planted these trees, whose huge trunks and majestic frondage form such a conspicuous ornament in the old convent.

In 1561 the master remembered his debt to the Piccolomini family for non-fulfilment of contract to carve certain statues for their chapel at Siena, and made reparation therefor, the Archbishop of Siena acting as arbitrator in the matter.

Angelo's last work in sculpture was a group of the Virgin and the dead Christ, with two other figures, all larger than life, none of which, except the Christ, were ever finished. He intended that this group should be placed on an altar over his own tomb, but it is now in the Cathedral of Florence. It was the occupation of his leisure hours for many years, oftentimes at night, when he rose from his couch of unrest to labor in solitude and silence.

In 1563 Angelo was elected Vice-President of the Florentine Academy of Fine Arts, of which Cosmo de' Medici was the founder and President.

Cosmo ordered the Florentine ambassador at Rome to look out that the venerable artist was well cared for; and his family and friends sent him frequent gifts of wine and fruits. Many devoted friends visited his house, and many assistants also, who bore for him a filial love.

In the winter of 1563–4 the master's strength failed rapidly, under the attacks of his painful malady. In February he felt that the end was approaching, and sent for his friend Daniele of Volterra, who brought with him Ascano Condivi, Angelo's pupil and biographer. "Daniele, my friend," he cried, "it is all over with me; I entreat you not to leave me." He dictated a letter to Leonardo Buonarroti, which Diomede Leoni enclosed in another written by himself, urging the Florentine to hasten to Rome.

Angelo's physicians watched him closely, and his Roman friends staid with him continually; while the slow fever undermined the citadel of life. On the 15th of February, he vainly endeavored to take his usual evening ride, but his head and legs were too weak, and he returned to his chair by the fireside. He refused to take to his

bed until the 20th; and gave his last directions with calmness and wisdom, ordering that his remains should be buried in Florence.

Towards sunset, on the 18th of February, Michael Angelo turned to his friends, and said: "I give my soul to God, my body to the earth, and my worldly possessions to my nearest of kin, charging them through life to remember the sufferings of Jesus Christ." With these words upon his lips, Angelo died, in peace and comfort, at the close of his eighty-ninth year.

Some years before, he had proposed to divide his estates between Leonardo and Sigismondo, or, if they died before him, every thing was to be bequeathed to San Martino, that is, the income was to be given, "for the love of God, to the modest poor." 8,000 crowns were found in a sealed chest, in his house, and there were also a few unfinished sculptures, with cartoons, models, and some unimportant household furniture. His people affirmed that he had burnt many drawings during the last year of his life.

The Pope and the Romans were so fully determined to keep Angelo's body in their city, that they hastened to bury it, in the Church of the

Holy Apostles. But Leonardo Buonarroti secretly removed it, and the body of the great master arrived in Florence after an absence of thirty years, disguised as a bale of merchandise, consigned to Vasari. On Sunday night the Tuscan artists conducted it to the Church of Santa Croce, in a torch-light procession, followed by many thousands of citizens; and in the church the remains were viewed by all the friends, appearing still as if asleep. Some days later magnificent memorial services were held in the Church of San Lorenzo, by the Duke and his court, the artists and Academicians, and other eminent men, and after the requiem mass Benedetto Varchi delivered a funeral oration. The church was filled with rare decorations of paintings and statuary, surrounding a catafalque fifty-four feet high. All the shops in Florence were closed, and immense crowds surrounded San Lorenzo.

His remains now rest in Santa Croce, the Pantheon, the Westminster Abbey of Italy, near the monuments of Dante, Alfieri, Macchiavelli, Galileo, Cherubini, Filicaia, and other illustrious men. The monument erected by the Duke and Leonardo Buonarroti is adorned by statues of Painting,

Sculpture, and Architecture, and a bust of him, whom Vasari called "That most holy old man, who was the light of our arts."

Lanzi uses these words: "As Dante made choice of materials very difficult to be reduced to verse, and from an abstruse subject extracted the praise of sublimity and grandeur, in like manner Michael Angelo explored the untrodden path of design and, in pursuing it, displayed powers of execution at once scientific and magnificent. In his works man assumes that form, which, according to Quintilian, Zeuxis delighted to represent. His foreshortenings and his attitudes are most daring; his expression full of vivacity and energy."

Grimm says: "All Italians feel that he occupies the third place by the side of Dante and Raphael, and forms with them a triumvirate of the greatest men produced by their country, — a poet, a painter, and one who was great in all arts. Who would place a general or a statesman by their side as equal to them? It is art alone which marks the prime of nations."

Says Taine: "There are four men in the world of art and of literature exalted above all others, and to such a degree as to seem to belong to another race; namely, Dante, Shakespeare, Beethoven, and Michael Angelo. . . . [Before his master-work in the Sistine Chapel] we cease to feel the abuse of art, the aim at effect, the domination of mannerism: we only see the disciple of Dante, the friend of Savonarola, the recluse feeding himself on the menaces of the Old Testament, the patriot, the stoic, the lover of justice who bears in his heart the grief of his people, and who attends the funeral of Italian liberty, one who, amidst degraded character and degenerate minds, alone survives and daily becomes sadder, his soul filled with thoughts of the Supreme Judge, and listening beforehand to the thunders of the last day."

> "*. . . E quel che a par sculpe e colora,*
> *Michel più che mortal Angiol divino.*"
>
> ARIOSTO.

A LIST OF

THE CHIEF PAINTINGS AND SCULPTURES OF MICHAEL ANGELO

NOW EXISTING, WITH THE DATES OF THEIR EXECUTION, AND THEIR PRESENT LOCATIONS.

*** *Certain works of art in Europe are now attributed to Angelo, about which there is great uncertainty. It seems inexpedient to include these productions here, although in some cases they have strong grounds for consideration.*

*** *Angelo's designs are carefully preserved, in considerable numbers, at Florence, Milan, Vienna, Oxford, and other places.*

SCULPTURES.

ITALY.

FLORENCE. — *National Museum* (in the Bargello), — The Dying Adonis, 1501; Bacchus and the Satyr, 1497–98; the Victory group (unfinished); the Young Apollo, 1530; Bust of Brutus (unfinished); the Faun's Head, 1489; Circular Relief of the Madonna (unfinished), 1503–04; Leda and the Swan (?). *Academy of Fine Arts*, — David, 1501–04; St. Matthew (unfinished), 1503. *Buonarroti Gallery*, — The Battle of the Centaurs (bas-relief), 1490–92; plaster model

of the Deposition from the Cross; Madonna and Child, 1492–94; Holy Family. *Cathedral*, — The Pietà (unfinished), 1545–60. *San Lorenzo* (Medicean Chapel), — The Tombs of Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici, 1520–34; the Virgin and Child. *Boboli Gardens*, — Four statues of the Prisoners (unfinished).

ROME. — *St. Peter in Vincoli*, — Moses, begun in 1513; Rachel, Leah, and works from Angelo's designs. *Santa Maria Sopra Minerva*, — Jesus Christ, 1521. *St. Peter's*. — The Pietà, 1498–99. *Fevoli Palace* (Russian Legation), — The Deposition from the Cross (unfinished); the Saviour (unfinished.)

BOLOGNA. — *San Domenico Church*, — A Kneeling Angel, 1495; St. Petronius, 1495.

SIENA. — *Cathedral*, — Statues of Sts. Peter, Paul, Gregory, Pius, and Francis; Christ and Angels (?).

GENOA. — *Hospital of the Poor*, — Bas-relief of the Pietà (?); Christ in the Garden.

PARMA. — *Academy of Fine Arts*, — Small bas-relief of the Deposition from the Cross.

NAPLES. — *Royal Museum*, — Bust of Paul III.

MANTUA. — *Virgilian Academy*, — Sleeping Hercules (?)

PARIS. — *The Louvre*, — Two Statues of the Prisoners.

BRUGES. — *Notre Dame Church*, — Virgin and Child 1500-03.

ST. PETERSBURG. — *Academy*, — A Caryatide.

LONDON. — *South-Kensington Museum*, Cupid, 1497–98 A Bust of a Lady; and thirteen models in wax and terra-cotta. *Royal Academy*, — Bas-relief of the Virgin and Child, 1500–04.

PAINTINGS.

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FLORENCE. — *Uffizi Gallery*, — The Holy Family. *Pitti Palace*, — The Three Fates. *Buonarroti Gallery*, — The Holy Family and Saints (?).

ROME. — *Vatican Palace*, — The Frescos of the Sistine and Pauline Chapels.

NAPLES. — *Royal Museum*, — Two Cartoons; Sketch of the Last Judgment.

MADRID. — The Flagellation of Christ.

LONDON. — *National Gallery*, — The Taunton Madonna, 1492–96; the Entombment of Christ.

ARCHITECTURE.

ITALY.

FLORENCE. — The Laurentian Library and the Medici Chapel.

ROME. — The Dome of St. Peter's; the Cornice of the Farnese Palace; the Porta Pia; the Belvedere Stairway.

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PISA. — The Lanfranchi Palace. And many other buildings and parts of buildings in Italy.

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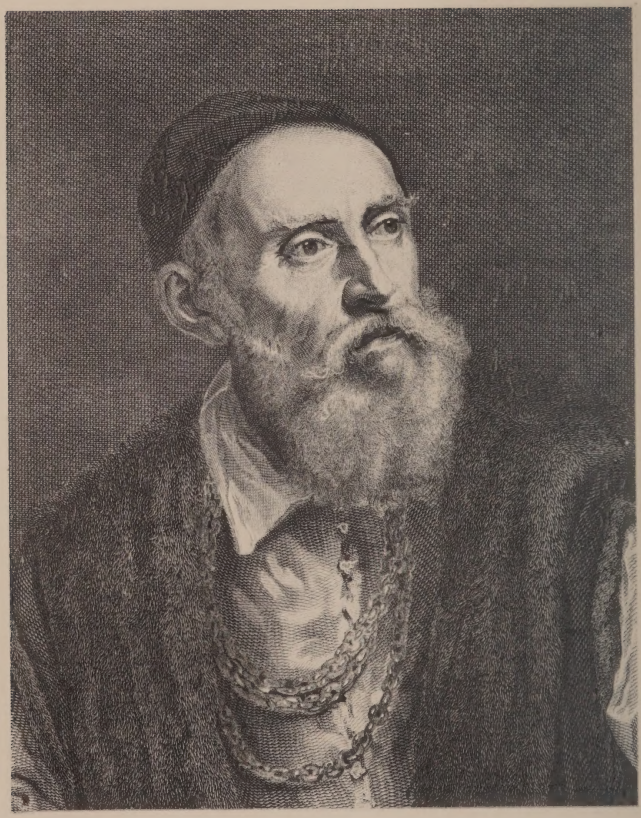

TITIAN

PREFACE.

THE chief authority on which this biography of Titian is based is the ponderous work on the same subject recently published in London, in two volumes, under the joint authorship of Crowe and Cavalcaselle. These gentlemen are eminent for laborious and conscientious research, and just and temperate criticism, as is shown in their preceding volumes on the history of Italian art, which have now become classical, and are generally used as ultimate authorities. In connection with this work, the author has consulted and compared numerous other books relating to Titian and his paintings, — Gilbert's "Cadore," Northcote, Ticozzi, Vasari, Taine, Blanc, &c.

The List of Paintings appended to this biography is the result of careful research, and will doubtless be valuable for purposes of reference. The pictures claimed as Titian's, now in New York and New England, are not included, since the writer is not familiar with the proofs of their authenticity. It is earnestly

desired that this list may be freed from errors, and that it may be corrected as often as changes occur in the locations of Titian's pictures. Any information of this kind would be gratefully received by the author, —

M. F. SWEETSER.

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TITIAN.

CHAPTER I.

The Vale of Cadore. — Titian's Ancestors and his Early Life. Venice and her Artists. — Titian Studies with the Bellini.

AMIDST the picturesque scenery of the Venetian Alps, about seventy miles north of Venice, is the long and beautiful Val Cadore, which is traversed by the boiling torrent of the Piave, descending from the Alps of Carniola. On the west is Mount Antelao, 10,679 feet high, dreaded for its disastrous avalanches; on the north is the long ridge of Marmarolo, with many sharp points and needles; and on the east is the bold peak of Cridola, 9,000 feet high. It is a land of pale dolomite rocks, forming needle-like spires and clear-cut sierras, with profound gorges and defiles, and rapid and roaring torrents. The lower ridges are covered with luxuriant forests, above which rise vast piles of rocks, whereon the snows

rest for several months of the year, even in this southern latitude. In these wild and craggy highlands the most ordinary operations of nature are beautiful or grand, — the sunset, bathing the verdurous slopes and high uplifted ledges; the storm-clouds and mist-wreaths, rolling around and insulating the pale peaks above; or the noonday sun, piercing the deep glens, and sparkling on the crystal waters.

The region of Cadore lies near the Austrian Tyrol, and has for many centuries been subject to German and Italian masters alternately, though in sympathy with the latter. Originally a fief of the Empire, it afterwards pertained for three centuries to the patriarchs of Aquileia. In 1335 it reverted to a Bavarian prince; and at a later day was added to the conquests of Sigismund of Hungary. Strong towers rise on the heights and in the Alpine passes, which were erected in those immemorial days to block the paths of invasion. But their mountains and their poverty were the strongest defences of the sturdy highland men, who were proud of their municipal rights, and governed themselves by a council which enjoyed high prerogatives. The region was thinly popu-

lated by a hardy and thrifty peasantry, deriving its chief support from the iron-mines, and from cutting lumber in the forests, which descended the Piave in rafts, and was used in the Venetian buildings, and the galleys of the republican fleet. The agricultural supplies were limited to the products of the dairy and the orchards; and the grain used in the communes was purchased by the council in the richer valleys of Friuli.

The first Count of Cadore, in the eleventh century, bore the name of Guecello, or Vecelli, and one of his descendants was the podestà of the district in 1321. The grandson of this ruler married a lady whose dowry included the chapel of St. Titian of Oderzo; and from that time the name of Titian became common in the Vecelli family. Conte Vecelli was a trusted lawyer and councillor, poor in this world's goods, but influential both in his native valley and in great Venice. His son Gregorio was a wise and valiant soldier, and a tribune of the people, captain of the "century" of Pieve, overseer of supplies, and member of the council, — a man of high honor and influence among the people of the glens. He married a certain Lucia, and settled

in one of his father's cottages at Pieve, in the lane near the Piazzetta of the Arsenale. The couple had four children, — Caterina, Francesco, Orsa, and Tiziano, or Titian.

Pieve di Cadore stood in the very heart of the Alpine region, with its formidable castle rising on the crest of an almost inaccessible eminence, at whose foot was the fountain-adorned municipal square, surrounded by massive old houses. In a quiet lane near the village is a cottage, which looks out on the castle and church, and beyond them to the broken mountains on the north, and the lofty and saw-like crest-line of the Marmarolo. In this house, which is still carefully preserved, the great artist Titian was born, in the year 1477. Here he dwelt during his school-boy years, amidst the pure air and noble scenery of the Alps. There can be no doubt that the daily contemplation of those solemn shrines of Nature, the cloud-wreathed and snow-capped peaks, and the mysterious and bosky glens, produced an enduring impression on his mind. His subsequent achievements as the foremost landscape-painter of the century, and the careful finish of the natural scenery in his works,

prove that he had a very just and loving appreciation of the manifold beauties of mountain and forest. The bold peaks of the Cadorine ranges often appear in the backgrounds of his Venetian pictures, as if he could not too often recall their impressive and stately forms.

Lanzi claims that the boy Titian was instructed in painting by Antonio Rossi, one of the last masters of the puerile Alpine art, who executed frescos and altar-pieces in the churches of the Vale of Cadore between 1472 and 1502. But Crowe and Cavalcaselle reject this story, and also the pretty tradition that the lad manifested his first inclination for art by painting a Madonna with the juices of flowers, in such charming colors as to surprise all his friends. Gilbert has recently examined this fresco, which is still preserved, and admits the probability of the truth of the tradition.

The tribune, Gregorio Vecelli, owned little but his sword and his ancestral traditions, and found his family increasing about him. He remembered that for centuries the Vecelli had been lawyers and soldiers, and had won much honor, but few ducats; and he was now about to choose

a profession for his son. Perhaps Titian had already manifested his love for art, either in the fresco of the Madonna or elsewhere, and thus influenced the parental decision; for it was resolved in the family councils that he should study painting at Venice.

The young mountaineer descended the Val Piave, crossed the Lagune, and entered the City of the Sea, in the year 1488, when he was about ten years old. With what amazement must he have contemplated the archipelago of palaces, the busy traffic of the merchants, the tumultuous crowds on the squares, the churches, the fleets, the thronged canals! He was placed in the care of his uncle, who lived in the city, and commenced to study with a good will. His first master appears to have been Sebastian Zuccato, the syndic of the guild of mosaic-workers, from whom he passed to the instruction of the Bellini, and the companionship of Palma and Giorgione.

Venice was then at the zenith of her power, occupying a position like that of ancient Tyre, or modern England, with a population of skilful mariners, intrepid discoverers and colonists along the midland seas, and ingenious inventors and

manufacturers. At one time she had a navy of forty-five galleys, and a merchant marine of thirty-three hundred vessels, and owned a fourth of the Byzantine Empire, together with Crete and the rich Levantine and Adriatic ports, and much of Northern Italy. Her impregnable insular position insured an easily guarded independence; and no power could insult her traders without bringing down a Venetian war-fleet against its ports. The oligarchy was composed of merchant-princes, whose galleys fought with the rival squadrons of Genoa and Pisa, or the Normans in Southern Italy, or the marauding Saracens from the African coast. Her mariners knew the seas and coasts from Iceland to Sumatra; and formed six trading fleets annually, manned and convoyed at the public expense, and sent to Southern Russia, the Greek ports, the Armenian and Syrian coasts, Alexandria, the Moorish cities of Spain and Africa, and the British Isles and the ports of the Netherlands. The Venetians were the common carriers and mercantile agents between Europe and the Orient, and derived enormous wealth from their commissions. They were superstitiously devout, delighting in religious

ceremonials, and adorning their churches and convents with lavish prodigality. Though it had been founded by St. Theodore and cherished by St. Mark, and was peopled with legends of miracles, the city was jealous of Rome, and refused to allow her jurisdiction, excluding ecclesiastics from the councils, electing priests by parishioners, and devolving the control of the church upon a patriarch appointed by the nobles.

Until the fifteenth century the Venetians were too busy in their career of maritime discovery and commerce to give attention to literature and art. They were not indifferent to the beauties of sculpture and mosaic work, and enriched their city with masterpieces of these arts; but they were trophies of foreign wars, and not of local production. During the era of Italian anarchy, early in the fourteenth century, certain painters from the mainland and from beyond the Alps reached Venice, and exercised a strong influence upon her crude Byzantine traditions. In little more than a hundred years Venetian art reached its climax in Titian and Tintoretto, and it perished in the next century.

The first paintings of any account were the

rude historical frescos in the Hall of the Great Council; and when these became deteriorated by time, there were no local artists competent to restore them, and the government induced Gentile da Fabriano and Vittore Pisano to visit the city for that purpose. Under their influence was founded the Muranese school, which combined the Umbrian mysticism with German conscientiousness, while the guild of painters also modified their Byzantine manner. Jacopo Bellini, a pupil of Fabriano, settled at Padua, and associated himself with Donatello, the great Florentine sculptor. He also married his daughter to Mantegna, the foremost artist of Italy, whose frescos were the study and admiration of Raphael. Jacopo's sons, Gentile and Giovanni, were thus brought into familiar contact with two of the leading men of the century, under the guidance of the school of Fabriano, and influenced by the rich coloring of the Flemish artists and the Vivarini of Murano. The Bellini became the founders of the true Venetian school, with new realistic ideas, correct perspective, landscape effects, and the study of classic sculpture and nude forms. They gathered a powerful

company of disciples, and effected such a revolution in art, that Venice was almost repaid for her loss of the mastery of the seas, by becoming one of the three great centres of Italian culture.

When Titian entered Gentile's studio, the master was nearly seventy years old, and was distinguished for his serious manner, scientific perspective, and skilful composition. His house was adorned with many works of art, and contained a valuable collection of antiques, from which his pupils derived some knowledge of the classic. The studio was near the Rialto Square, the heart of Venice, where the schools of art and music were, near the colonnades where the patricians and merchants met, and the multitudinous booths of the bankers, traders, and commercial agents. Bellini had already finished his active labors in the Council Hall and elsewhere. In 1479 he was invited to Constantinople to paint portraits of Mehemet and the Sultana, and presented the Sultan with a picture of the decapitation of St. John. The Turk criticised the appearance of the saint's neck, and proved the validity of his objection by having the head of a slave struck off in the artist's presence Gentile found the air of

Constantinople oppressive after this episode, and speedily returned to Venice.

Titian soon mastered the habit of minute drawing which characterized Gentile's style. Dolce says that the venerable teacher was displeased with the youth's bold and rapid sketching, and estranged him by opposing it; upon which he withdrew, and entered the studio of Giovanni Bellini, a younger and better painter. His style was brilliant, with boldness of touch, harmony and broad contrasts in lights and shades, sweetness of expression, and conscientious execution.

No details of Titian's life as a pupil remain; and it can only be inferred that he was a diligent worker and a careful observer. He was probably confined to the city during all these years, unable by reason of poverty to visit his Alpine home. From the Lagune he could see the tall crest of Mount Antelao towering amid the dim Venetian Alps, and think fondly of the snug cottage in the Vale of Cadore, with the dear ones under its humble roof.

CHAPTER II.

Palma, Giorgione, and other Artists. — Titian's First Works. — Venetian Wars. — Aldine Academy. — The League of Cambrai. — Titian at Padua.

PALMA VECCHIO of Bergamo was older than Titian, and was a prolific and original painter, favored by noble Venetian and Friulian families, and eminent for his portraits of women. His range was narrow, but included correct designing, vigorous coloring, and a fondness for rich summer-day backgrounds. The biographers say, somewhat paradoxically, that he had three lovely daughters, but no family.

Giorgione was born in the same year with Titian, near the foot of the Alps, and studied with him under Giovanni Bellini. His name means "Great George," in allusion to his noble figure and personal beauty. He was also a poet and musician, fond of pleasure, but of pure life. His paintings were dignified in character, rich in color, free and vigorous in outline, and distinguished

for bold relief and an admirable blending of tints. He soon abandoned the Bellinesque manner, and derived great benefit from the study of the works of Leonardo da Vinci.

These three — Palma, Giorgione, and Titian — were the founders of the new school of Venetian art in its advance beyond the standards of the Bellini. Titian admired the new manner of Giorgione, and studied his pictures carefully and secretly. He set himself to win the esteem of the rising master, who at last gave him instruction in his doctrines, and employed him as an assistant. The earlier works of the young Cadorine partook sometimes of the nature of Giorgione's, sometimes of Palma's, and again of still other forms. His genius even then was capable of expanding in different directions, and compassing the merits of diverse technical styles, while assimilating their best traits. His adherence to nature was close and sometimes seductive, ignoring equally the idealism of the Greeks and the statuesque elevation of the Tuscan masters. His style was the consummate flower of the rising art of Venice, and not the development of the canons of any one studio.

The aged Antonello da Messina was then in the city, with Pino and Veneziano in his studio. He was a Sicilian by birth, and had studied at Rome and Naples, where he first saw oil-paintings, whose preparation was invented by Van Eyck of Bruges. He was so enamoured with the beauty of the new process, that he crossed the Alps, and dwelt with Van Eyck in his Flemish home, where he learned the secret of painting in oil. With this rich possession he returned to the peninsula, and was the first who executed oil-paintings in Italy. He settled at Venice, and in 1474 revealed the secret to the chief artists there, for which he received a pension from the State.

Cima da Conegliano was then at Venice, and was already eminent as a painter of portraits and altar-pieces, whose coloring "glistens like jewels." Carpaccio was also here, competing with the Bellini, and designing his great series of paintings of the Martyrdom of St. Ursula. At Murano was the busy studio of the Vivarini brothers, who were descended from a long line of artists, and had been associated with certain German painters. They also had mastered the art of oil-painting, and were in hot rivalry with the Bellini.

The first recorded work of Titian was a fresco of Hercules, on the front of the Morosini Palace, which is now obliterated. The portraits of his parents, which have disappeared, were probably made during a visit to Cadore; when he also executed the Madonna which is preserved in the village chapel. The Madonna in the Vienna Belvedere is a similar early work, and shows individuality breaking through imitation, correct drawing and finish, and infelicity of selection. The "Ecce Homo" in the Scuola di San Rocco at Venice is a meagre work of the same epoch. Other youthful works now claimed as Titian's are of doubtful authenticity.

The grand picture of "Sacred and Profane Love," or "Artless and Sated Love," now in the Borghese Palace, represents two beautiful women, one naked and the other richly dressed, sitting on a marble fountain-trough, in a rich sunset landscape. It was painted about the year 1500, and one of the faces is a portrait of Violante, Palma's daughter. There is a tradition that the young artist was at this time in love with the fair Violante. It is more certain that he was a great admirer of Palma's manner of paint-

ing, and that he showed its effect in this picture.

The city in which Titian's adolescence was passed was then encountering strange vicissitudes. The capture of Constantinople by the Turks, in 1453, marked the beginning of her decline; and not long after she was forced to surrender Lemnos and Mantinea. In 1494–97 Naples and Florence bribed Sultan Bajazet to attack Venice; and his troops ravaged Friuli, and wrung the Morea from the hands of the Republic. The Levantine trade was ruined, and its ports were closed to the Adriatic galleys. The Portuguese opening of the new sea-passage to India, and the discovery of America, now compelled Europe to change front to the west; and the sceptre of commercial supremacy passed from the Mediterranean to the ocean ports, leaving the Italian cities to silence.[1] In 1495 the Republic joined the Italian alliance against Charles VIII. of France; and three years later she united with France in a war against Naples,

[1] The Suez Canal is reviving the old glories of Venice, in our days, and, whereas her imports from India up to 1867 scarcely averaged $200,000 annually, since 1870 they have sometimes reached $15,000,000 a year.

Milan, and Turkey. In these contests Venetian blood and treasure were fruitlessly wasted, and the fleets were driven in or annihilated. In 1499 the Turks destroyed Grimani's fleet at Lepanto, and the next year they defeated Admiral Trevisani. Cæsar Borgia, the unspeakably evil son of the basest of popes, now visited the city to demand certain ports of the Romagna coast, and to proclaim a crusade against the Moslems. Titian met the Borgia at this time, and painted his portrait.

In 1501 the monk Raphael preached the new crusade, on St. Mark's Square; and Rome, Hungary, and Venice prepared to attack the Turks. The commander of the Papal galleys was Jacopo da Pesaro, Bishop of Paphos; whose kinsman, Admiral Benedetto, died of a broken heart, on account of the defeats of his nation. Before sailing, Jacopo had Titian paint his portrait, kneeling before St. Peter, to whom he is presented by Pope Alexander VI.; while in the background a fleet is seen at anchor before a fortress. This brilliant picture was once owned by Charles I. of England, at whose death it passed into Spain. In 1825 King William pre-

sented it to the city of Antwerp, in whose museum it is now kept, travel-worn and re-painted, but still full of impressive beauty.

In 1501 Titian's grandfather, the Councillor Conte Vecelli, visited Venice, and secured the remission of a state tax on the woods and mountains, which was vexing the Cadorines. It is probable that he visited and encouraged his young kinsman, who was already well spoken of in the city. In 1507 the lawyer, Tiziano Vecelli, came down on another embassy, and probably used his influence for his namesake's advancement. During these years Titian made several visits to Cadore, on one of which he brought back his younger brother Francesco, to whom he taught the art of drawing.

At this time Aldus Manutius was issuing fresh editions of the ancient classics from his presses, beautiful in typography, and famous to this day for their precision. The free spirit of the age was suited also with a great variety of contemporary literature, from the commentaries of the ecclesiastics to the licentious productions of the court writers. Several fonts of Greek type were made, and were manipulated by fugitives from

the Moslem invasion of Greece and Crete. Many of the chief scholars of that era sojourned at Venice, to aid in the works of these teeming presses, and founded the famous Aldine Academy, which included Linacre, Ramusius, Fra Giocondo, Erasmus of Rotterdam, Pietro Bembo, and the historian Navagero. The two last named were friends of Raphael; and it is probable that several of these scholars met Titian during their frequent visits to Bellini's studio, and afterwards.

In 1507 the State engaged Giorgione to fresco the new Fondaco de' Tedeschi, an immense structure erected as a headquarters for the German merchants, with two halls, eighty rooms, twenty-six warehouses, and a cloistered inner court. Giorgione transferred a part of this work to Titian, who decorated the south wall with large figures of Judith, a monk, a Levantine, and a nude woman, — grand frescos, which have long since yielded to the wild *Tramontana* winds. Giorgione adorned the remaining walls; but his fervid spirit and resolute action were fairly surpassed by the grander forms of Titian. Vasari and Dolce say that the master never forgave his assisiant for thus over-matching him; but the

more trustworthy accounts tell of Giorgione's rejoicing at his pupil's excellence, and his graceful acknowledgment of Titian's superiority. It is certain that the young artist painted his master's portrait, and that he finished Giorgione's uncompleted pictures after the death of the latter.

In 1508 Venice refused to allow the Emperor Maximilian to lead an army through her domains to Rome; and he advanced from the Tyrol into the Vale of Cadore, and reduced its fortresses. During the campaign, Titian's father and brother were soldiers in the anti-imperialist ranks, and other relatives were in the Venetian secret service. Venice speedily sent four thousand men, with mountain guns and Stradiot cavalry, against the German invaders, who were soon defeated and driven back.

Between 1508 and 1511, Titian received no important orders; for the money and energies of the people were all devoted to the great wars of the Republic. He, however, executed several brilliant and highly-finished easel-pictures, which show the strong influence of Palma, and certain traits of Dürer, with the contemporary tendency of the Venetian artists to a transition from the

severe classic traditions of contour and outline to a close study of nature and a sensuous richness of coloring. To this period belong two Madonnas, now at the Vienna Belvedere; a Madonna and saints, in the Louvre; the Madonna and St. Anthony, at Florence; the Madonna at Burleigh House; and portraits of the former Doges Marcello and Barbarigo. Titian at this time commanded the services of assistants, whose work is recognized in parts of his pictures. In the beautiful Madonna and St. Bridget, now at Madrid, the master surpassed his model, Palma, both in dignity and grace, and fertility of resource.

Early in 1509 the power of Venice preponderated in Italy, many of whose cities were held by her lieutenants. But the hostile states of Rome, Spain, France, and Germany, moved by the lust of conquest, formed the League of Cambrai, and hurled their armies against the gallant little Republic. The Venetian army was defeated near Milan; her Lombard, Adriatic, and Neapolitan cities were captured in quick succession; and the Germans descended from the Tyrol, and occupied Friuli, and ravaged the Vale of Cadore. The insulted State then gathered her best sons, and

fell upon the invading hordes, recovering city after city, until the League was broken by internal dissensions, and Venice received her own again. Titian's brother Francesco was one of the most valiant of the Cadorine volunteers, and vanquished a German captain during the imperialist assault on Padua; while his father was engaged at the defence of the Castle of Cadore, where the Germans were rudely repulsed. Francesco was severely wounded, and was taken back to Venice by Titian, who had a great love for him.

The "Christ of the Tribute Money" was executed before 1511, and is now one of the choicest masterpieces of the Dresden Gallery. Scanelli says that a company of German travellers once visited Titian's studio, and praised the careful finish of Dürer's paintings, which they held as above the possibilities of the Venetian artists. The master denied that such extreme refining of details was the best aim of art, which should rather seek breadth and grandeur of expression; yet, in order to prove that he could combine both traits, he painted this picture. It shows the youthful and divine beauty of the Saviour in con-

trast with the dark and shaggy Pharisee, to whose crafty question He answers: "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." Even the fine down on the faces, the most delicate veins, the texture of the robes, may be discerned; and the hairs in the ringlets on Christ's shoulders may be counted. The highest critical authority has proclaimed this "the most perfect easel-picture of which Venice ever witnessed the production, and the most polished work of Titian."

The attack of the Cambrai League was almost fatal to the art of Venice, since it drew the treasure and the attention of the patricians to other objects. The flight of provincial artists from the besieged cities to the capital was soon followed by a general dispersion in search of more peaceful realms.

In 1511 Titian went to Padua, the centre of intellectual culture in the Venetian domains, and the seat of a venerable university, museums, libraries, and collections of antiquities. Here he engaged Domenico Campagnola as an assistant, and devolved most of his work upon him, as if in contempt of the criticism of the provincial

connoisseurs. They decorated the façade of the palace of Alvise Cornaro, a wealthy and erudite patrician and patron of letters; and executed an inferior fresco of Joachim and Anna, in the Scuola del Carmine. Another work, whose memory is perpetuated only by a series of rude engravings, showing grand energy and exuberant life, was a series of frescos representing the Triumph of Faith, of which Rio says that they are "a masterpiece worthy of a Christian painter."

The chief works at Padua were three finely designed frescos in the Scuola del Santo, representing scenes from the life of St. Anthony, whose unsatisfactory execution shows that the master slighted and disliked the art of frescoing, which was generally avoided by the Venetians. From Padua Titian and Campagnola went to Vicenza, where they made the fresco of "The Judgment of Solomon," for the courts of justice. In the following spring the master returned to Venice, and decorated the façade of the Grimani Palace.

CHAPTER III.

Invited to Rome. — Titian becomes Painter to the State. — Visit to Ferrara. — Ariosto. — The Assumption, and other Paintings. — Bordone.

AFTER destroying Cadore, in the winter of 1511–12, the Emperor made a truce with Venice, and sent his dogs of war to harry other states. The Doge and Senate instituted a splendid festival in honor of their deliverance from the dangers of the League; and during this spring-time of gladness Titian returned, and executed for the canons of San Spirito a picture which symbolized the triumph of the Republic, by showing its great patron, St. Mark, enthroned among other saints. This great work combines the marvellous fulness of Giorgione with the soft golden tones of Palma, and an unusual classic dignity derived from the study of the antiques at Padua.

The catastrophes which had befallen the city had left Titian its foremost painter, by removing the competition of several great rivals. Sebas-

tiano del Piombo had emigrated to Rome, and Lorenzo Lotto to the Romagna; Gentile Bellini was dead, Giovanni was now past ninety, and Carpaccio was too old to do much. Giorgione had sunk into a fatal despondency after his beloved had been seduced and carried away by Morto da Feltre; and when the great pestilence which destroyed twenty thousand persons in Venice came, the noble and stately artist, in the flower of his years, joined the long procession of the dead.

Omnivorous Rome was now drawing all the genius of Italy to her seven hills, and had already secured Raphael, Angelo, and Sebastiano. Bembo, who had known Titian when with the Bellini, was secretary to Pope Leo X., and invited him to the Eternal City, probably at the suggestion of the Pontiff. But Navagero persuaded the master to decline the flattering offer, aided in his arguments by the intense local patriotism of mediæval Italy, and perhaps by his reluctance to compete with Raphael and Angelo, who were then at the zenith of their fame.

In May, 1513, he submitted to the Council of Ten a petition beginning thus: "I, Titian of Cadore, having studied painting from childhood

upwards, and desirous of fame rather than profit, wish to serve the Doge and Signori, rather than His Highness the Pope and other Signori, who in past days, and even now, have urgently asked to employ me. I am therefore anxious, if it should appear feasible, to paint in the Hall of Council." He left the compensation to the discretion of the State, but demanded two assistants, and the first vacant brokership in the Fondaco de' Tedeschi; all of which conditions were accepted by the government. But Bellini had worked on this hall until it seemed to him a vested right, with rich perquisites; and he hastened to secure a reversal of Titian's appointment. New intrigues followed, and Titian was re-established, but was continually harassed by Bellini's plots and manœuvres for several years. Inexplicable delays occurred in his prosecution of the work, and called out official reprimands and admonitions; and it was many years before he finished the first painting in the hall. He received from the State a studio in the old palace of the Duke of Milan, finely situated on the Grand Canal, midway between the Doges' Palace and the Rialto, which he retained for sixteen years. The broker's patent in

the Fondaco gave him an annuity of a hundred ducats, with exemption from taxation; and a further reward of twenty-five ducats for the portrait of the Doge, which it was the official duty of the painter-broker to make.

Early in 1516, Titian visited quaint old Ferrara, on the marshy plain of the Po; the capital of a duchy subject to Venice, and ruled by Alfonso d'Este, who was generously devoted to fostering a rich exotic culture, and rivalling Urbino in attracting artists and authors. After the desolating storm of the Cambrai League, Ferrara began to adorn herself, and to enrich the ponderous castle-palace, which still rises above its surrounding moats, "the finest complete middle-age fortress in Italy." Here the Duchess, the celebrated Lucrezia Borgia, ruled the court piously and liberally. The Duke knew Raphael, Angelo, and other masters, and labored earnestly to get them to send him paintings for the castle. Pellegrino and the Dossi had worked in his halls; and Giovanni Bellini painted for him a beautiful Bacchanal, to which Titian, ten years later, added a background showing the Castle of Cadore.

Titian's first Ferrarese picture was based on a description by Philostratus, and shows a group of nymphs around a statue of Venus, with winged cupids merrily playing in the orchard of sacred apples. This rare picture was a favorite study for artists; and Domenichino burst into tears when it was carried to distant Spain. "The Three Ages" shows a quiet idyllic landscape, with two sleeping children, a handsome shepherd caressing a flower-crowned maiden, and an old man contemplating two skulls. This subtle allegory marks the innate poetry of the artist's mind, and his deep sympathy with nature. The "Noli Me Tangere," bequeathed by the poet Rogers to the National Gallery, shows the risen Christ withdrawing himself from the Magdalen. The background is full of rare tranquillity and poetic peace, spanning the deep blue of an evening sky over a quiet bay. "The Virgin's Rest" combines heavenly pathos and solemn grandeur; showing the flower-bearing John and the radiant Catherine before the Virgin and Child, in a broad and beautiful sunset landscape. Charles V. kept this picture among his choicest treasures, and it is now in the National Gallery.

Titian also painted a portrait of the broad-browed and clear-eyed Alfonso d'Este, which was much admired by Michael Angelo; and another of the majestic Duchess Lucrezia. The former is at Madrid, but the latter is lost. The portrait of Ariosto, now at Cobham Hall, was the purest and richest work of Titian's Giorgionesque period; and a second portrait, in the National Gallery, shows the pensive poet, long-haired and richly dressed, standing by a laurel-bush. It is said that Titian and Ariosto were godfathers to each other's children, and that they formed a league of intellect, in which "Apelles" painted "Homer's" portrait, and "Homer" consulted "Apelles" about his new poem of "Orlando Furioso." They were certainly intimate with each other; and Ariosto said, in his revised edition of the "Orlando," that Titian honored Cadore not less than Sebastiano did Venice, or Raphael Urbino.

The old chroniclers say that the Duke paid Titian generously, lodged him in the palace, carried him to and from Venice in the state-barge, made him a knight, and offered to introduce him at the Roman court. Throughout 1517 the mas-

ter corresponded with Alfonso, in the subservient Venetian manner, so different from the frank freedom of Raphael's and Angelo's letters. Meantime the Bishop of Adria was vainly entreating Raphael to paint his long-promised picture for Ferrara; and the angry Duke wrote to his agent, "Go to Raphael, and tell him that it is now three years since he began to lure us with promises, . . . and that if he does not do his duty he will soon find out the mistake he has made." This also was in vain, and Alfonso ordered a Bacchanal from Titian, for the castle-studio. The artist accepted the commission in an adulatory letter; and his patron soon visited the Venetian studio, and gave him personal directions.

"The Assumption of the Virgin," which is considered as Titian's greatest work, was first exhibited on the festival of San Bernardino, in a splendid marble frame over the high altar of the Frari Church at Venice. It shows the radiant Bride of Heaven among the clouds, surrounded by choirs of innocent angels, reaching her arms upward through the intense glory toward the serene and welcoming face of the Eternal Father, amid His great archangels; while the

adoring apostles stand on the shadowy earth below, and gaze upward at the beauteous appari tion. The mirthsomeness of the "Venus Worship," and the melodious tranquillity of "The Three Ages," are here replaced by a reverent spirituality and a serene elevation of style, aided by wonderful technical artifices, and a masterly contrast of brightness and gloom. Admiring crowds filled the church, and proclaimed Titian the foremost painter of Venice; and the imperial legate offered a great price for the picture. Darkened though it is by candle-smoke, and hurt by repainting, it is still the pride of the Venetian Academy.

Before 1519 the master painted "The Annunciation" for the Cathedral of Treviso, showing the joyful archangel delivering the heavenly message to the Virgin, in a splendid marble palace whose portico opens on a warm Italian landscape. He also executed several frescos, now nearly obliterated, in Treviso, which had been dilapidated during its long siege by the Leaguers of Cambrai; and used his influence in favor of Pordenone, afterwards his enemy, who had frescoed the Ravagnino Palace and

other Trevisan buildings, but could not get his pay.

The Venetian government now threatened Titian, that unless he stopped painting for other princes, and resumed and continued his works in the Doges' Palace, they should be finished at his expense. But he ignored this admonition, and leisurely continued his numerous outside commissions and the instruction of his pupils. Among the latter was Paris Bordone of Treviso, a well-educated patrician, who was already doing famous work, and who acquired his master's manner so well that their pictures were often confounded by connoisseurs.

CHAPTER IV.

Works for Ferrara, Ancona and Brescia. — Homeward Journey. — Venetian Nobles. — Visit to Mantua. — Bacchus and Ariadne. — The Venuses. — The Entombment.

LATE in 1519, the Duke of Ferrara wrote an angry letter, complaining of Titian's delay on his commission; but the imperturbable artist rejoined that he would bring it when completed, and went off to Padua. A month later he sailed up the Po, bearing the "Bacchanal," a brilliant composition, full of gorgeous color and luscious charm, portraying a merry drunken orgy of Ariadne and the half-dressed Bacchantes, with the inscription: "Who drinks not over and over again, knows not what drinking is." This picture and the "Venus Worship" were removed to Rome by Cardinal Aldobrandini, in 1528; and they were presented to the King of Spain by Cardinal Ludovisi, in 1638. Rubens made fine copies of them, which were carried from Madrid as spoils of war by Bernadotte, and adorned the royal palace of Stockholm.

During his annual visit to Cadore in this year, Titian decorated with arabesques a room in the house of his favorite cousin Tiziano, the poet and orator, who was a person of great influence among the Cadorines.

At the Carnival of 1520, the master first met the young Marquis of Mantua, who afterwards became one of his best patrons. Tebaldeo, the envoy of his uncle Alfonso d'Este, was then familiar with every canvas in Titian's studio, and doubtless brought the Marquis hither. Here he saw the "Flora," now in the Uffizi Gallery, a light and brilliant picture of a surpassingly lovely and seductively clad woman, with features of antique purity and ideal grace. It is the popular belief that this represents the mistress of Titian.

After the death of Lucrezia, the Duke of Ferrara married the humble Laura Dianti, and abandoned the intricate paths of diplomacy in favor of art and literature, and the amenities of his peaceful court. He kept up a friendly correspondence with Titian, who executed many commissions for him, finding skilled workmen for the new maiolica works at Ferrara, and himself designing several maiolica vases, which were

baked in the Murano furnaces, and sent to Alfonso. In May he visited Ferrara to retouch one of his pictures, and promised to paint Bacchus and Ariadne for his patron. Six months later he feebly excused himself for delaying the new work, on the ground that he had no canvas; but the Duke's envoy knew that he had just finished a famous "St. Sebastian" for the new Brescian altar-piece, and bluntly told him that his reasons were as artful as his pencils, and that since he had touched the money of the priests he had ceased to care for the service of Ferrara. Titian replied that the St. Sebastian was his best work, though poorly requited, and that he was willing to work for the Duke night and day, regardless of priests and monks. The wily agent persuaded him to sell the picture secretly to Alfonso, and replace it with a copy; but the Duke declined to receive it, either from a sense of honor, or from fear of offending the Papal Legate Averoldo, for whom it had been painted. At the same time he pressed the mortified artist to finish the works which he had previously promised.

Though so many princes and prelates were

urging on his pencil, the master now yielded to his longing for the hill-country, and journeyed to Conegliano, at the foot of the Venetian Alps, where he received the freehold of a house in return for a series of frescos on the front of the Scuola di Santa Maria Nuova. He adorned this new house with frescos, and made it a stopping-place on his long and frequent journeys to Cadore. On this excursion to the North, he probably carried the portrait of himself, which he had painted for his family; and which, after his cousin Tiziano died, was called "common property, as the incomparable and precious gift of their relative Titian." In 1728 Zuliano, the treacherous guardian of Alessandro Vecelli, carried this picture to Venice, and sold it.

In 1521 the Doge Loredano died, after a stormy reign of twenty years, and was succeeded by Antonio Grimani, a noble patrician eighty-seven years old, who had amassed enormous wealth in the Levant trade, and had bought a cardinalate for his son. While commanding two hundred Venetian ships at Lepanto, he was defeated by the Turkish fleet, and carried home in irons. After an incarceration of seven years on the

island of Cherson, in the Black Sea, he escaped to his son at Rome, where he reconciled the Pope to Venice, and was thereupon pardoned by the Republic, of which he soon became the Doge. Within two years Titian painted for him four portraits, of which three still remain at Venice, Padua, and Vienna, representing a tall, careworn, and venerable old man, with a strong and heroic face. The state portrait in the Council Hall was destroyed in the fire of 1577, and the votive picture usually given to the doges was not completed until after 1550.

Late in 1521 the impatient Alfonso invited Titian to spend Christmas at Ferrara, and then accompany him on his visit of homage to the new Pope at Rome. But the independent artist declined these offers, and went off to Brescia, whence he returned to Venice afflicted with a severe fever. Alfonso's agent stormed about the studio for months to get his master's pictures finished, but the master answered the prince's threats with promises only.

In 1522 the great altar-piece which the Papal Legate had ordered for Brescia was finished, and placed in the Church of Sts. Nazarus and Celsus,

where it now remains. It is in several panels, showing Christ rising in the clouds, with astonished sentinels around the empty marble tomb, while the right panel contains St. Roch and the wounded St. Sebastian, and the left panel has Sts. Nazarus and Celsus, the latter of whom is pointing the Legate Averoldo toward the Redeemer. The St. Sebastian was frequently repeated by the master, and has been copied many times by other artists.

During the summer the Council of Ten discovered that no work had been done in the Hall of the Great Council for several years, and ordered Titian to begin his duty immediately, or forfeit his lucrative brokership. Such a threat could not be lightly disregarded; and the delinquent for a few weeks busied himself with the great paintings in the hall, — either "The Battle of Cadore," or "The Humiliation of the Emperor Barbarossa by Pope Alexander III." Into the latter were introduced portraits of Bembo, Navagero, Sannazaro, Ariosto, and many other contemporary scholars and nobles. Still he found time to execute one of his finest portraits (now at Castle Howard) representing Giorgio Cornaro, the brother of the famous

Queen of Cyprus. It shows a noble head, with clear-cut features and chestnut hair, and a rich and highly finished costume. In the same year he painted the official portrait of Jacopo Soranzo, a wealthy patrician who had relieved the needy State by paying fourteen thousand ducats for the office of Procurator. This picture is now in the Venetian Academy, and shows a meagre yet noble face, with piercing eyes and a white beard. The Council of Ten also granted permission for Titian to paint a picture for the French King, which was ordered and paid for by the envoy Lautrec. The fame of the master had already spread into Northern Europe, and reached the ears of kings.

The Marquis Federigo Gonzaga was the nephew of Alfonso d'Este, and the ruler of the territory of Mantua. This little principality had been kept by skilful diplomatic intrigues from the breaking storm of the League of Cambrai; and the young Federigo succeeded to an unimpaired and prosperous heritage, and to a generous love for the fine arts. Probably he had known Titian some years earlier; but it was not until 1523 that his agent Malatesta sent the painter to Mantua, with the following letter: "The bearer of these

presents is Maestro Tiziano, most excellent in art, but modest and gentle withal. He leaves many works of importance in suspense to go and kiss the hand of your Excellency, who deigned to ask me to seek him out." Gonzaga was much pleased with his visitor, and set him to work on a portrait. But Titian was unable to remain more than a week, for he had already sent his baggage and servants, with his new picture, up the Po to Ferrara; and now he hastened down the valley to rejoin them. He bore a kind letter from the young Marquis to his uncle Alfonso, begging that he would allow the artist to return to Mantua as soon as possible.

The picture which he had begun three years before, and now brought to Ferrara to finish, was the "Bacchus and Ariadne," illustrating the classic poem of Catullus, of which Titian possessed a copy inscribed, *Liber mihi Titiani et amicorum cæterorumque.* It shows the beautiful and half-draped Ariadne in Naxos, near the blue Ægean, fleeing from Bacchus, whose leopard-drawn chariot halts while he leaps out towards her. A boisterous troop of mænads and nymphs, satyrs and fauns, issues from the adjacent grove,

filled with antique vigor and classic beauty, and impelled in headlong progress. When Ferrara reverted to the Church, this picture was carried to Rome, and remained there until 1806, when it passed to England, and is now in the National Gallery. It has been frequently copied by Poussin, Varotari, and other eminent artists.

The picture of a girl at her toilet attended by a man holding a mirror, now at the Louvre, is said to represent Alfonso and Laura Dianti, though popular traditions claim that it is Titian and his mistress. The finely-shaped and simply-clad lady has ruddy golden hair, coal-black eyes, and clear-cut lips of a rich cherry redness.

The Venetian taste, studious of the antique, and delighting in Latin poetry, inclined to the contemplation of nude forms in pictures; and Titian was not slow to gratify this tendency. He painted the "Sleeping Venus," now at Darmstadt, which represents a graceful nude woman on rose-strewn red cushions, with one arm under her head. This work was very popular, and had many copies and replicas, several of which are now in England. The "Venus with the Shell" shows the queen of beauty rising new-born from

the sea, which ripples to her knees, and wringing her long hair, while she looks out with a piercing glance which is more conscious than innocent. This picture passed from Queen Christine's collection through the Orleans Gallery to the Bridgewater Gallery in London. The Darmstadt Venus shows the features of Violante, but the Bridgewater Venus introduces a new face, henceforth common in Titian's works.

In July, 1523, Titian was reported as doing his stipulated task in the Council Hall; and the authorities were doubtless pleased at even such perfunctory work, since its results were so rich. In August he received gifts from the Marquis of Mantua, and forwarded the portrait on which he had been engaged, to which the prince sent the curt reply: "We have received the picture sent by Maestro Tutiano, which pleased us very much." About the same time, the master painted the portrait of the Procurator Antonio Capello, which is now in the Venetian Academy, sadly repainted, patched, and cleaned. In the autumn he executed "The Entombment of Christ," showing Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea bearing the divine body to the tomb, with St. John's face

blanched with horror, and the Maries filled with wild anguish. This great work is famous for rich color, weird lights and glooms, and intense focal effect, and is the last which recalls the styles of Palma and Giorgione. While in the gallery of Charles I., of England, it was instrumental in forming the style of Van Dyck.

Later in the year, he painted the glorious Madonna now at the Vatican, surrounded by garland-bearing angels, with six grieving saints on the earth below. The remarkable execution and classic symmetry of this work were commended by Pordenone, Vasari, and Dolce, and in later days by Goethe and Mendelssohn.

CHAPTER V.

The Doge Gritti. — Titian's Private Life. — The Pesaro Madonna. — Aretino. — Affairs in Cadore. — Sebastiano. — Visits to Ferrara and Mantua.

EARLY in 1523 Andrea Gritti became Doge, at the age of sixty-eight. In 1503, while a prisoner at Constantinople, he negotiated the peace between Venice and the Sultan Bajazet II.; and while a captive of the French, after Gaston de Foix destroyed Brescia, he conducted the Treaty of Blois, and joined Francis I. against Charles V. He loved the French right well; and when he heard in September, 1523, that the army of France had occupied San Cristofano, menacing Milan, he caused Titian to execute the fresco which still remains at the foot of the stairway to the Doges' apartments, showing a grand figure of St. Christopher wading through the Lagune near Venice, and bearing the infant Christ on his shoulder. The Gallican sympathies of the Doge were vigorously illustrated in this metaphor, which

also exposes Titian's unfamiliarity with fresco-painting. Of the several celebrated portraits which the master painted for the Doge, those at London, Florence, and Padua alone remain. The latter portrays a stately prince arrayed in a white silk mantle and cap, with a broad forehead, an aquiline nose, and white beard and whiskers.

The spring and summer of 1524 were devoted to the long-lost frescos of the Madonna and saints and the evangelists, in the Doge's chapel. Gritti rewarded his artist by giving valuable appointments to his kinsmen, including the chancellorship of Feltre to his brother-in-law Matteo Soldano, and the inspectorship of mines to his father, Gregorio Vecelli.

The master at this time was ill with a fever, with intermittent attacks, and refused to imperil his life by visiting the Ferrarese country, in the malarious marshes of the Po. Later in the autumn he ascended by barge to Ferrara, and began several pictures, at the urgent solicitation of the Duke. Somewhat later he painted "The Annunciation," which is now at the Scuola di San Rocco, in Venice, and is notable for rich coloring and broad composition. It shows the

prayerful and serene Virgin, kneeling at her desk, and the angel entering on a cloud.

But little is known of Titian's home-life, save that he had a wife named Cecilia, who bore him three or four children between 1525 and 1530. His son Pomponio was born in 1525, and in after years became an unmitigated scapegrace and profligate. The Madonnas painted during these years of family life show that the master was familiar with the charming passages of maternal tenderness and infantile affection. It is evident that his married life was of that uneventful character which indicates tranquil peace at home.

Titian was always a gentleman, with polished manners and a charming address. His personal and social influence was therefore large; and his circle of friends included many of the foremost men of the century, in all departments of public life. There is absolutely no proof that he ever lived the remarkable life of dissipation which is indicated by the numerous pictures known in later days as Titian's mistresses. Gilbert argues that his possession of unimpaired strength and unfailing industry to so great an age as ninety-

nine years was a proof of the moderation of his life. Even the profligate Aretino, in his numerous letters to the master, is careful to avoid the ribaldry with which much of his correspondence overflows.

In the spring of 1526 Titian finished the grand "Madonna di Casa Pesaro," showing the same martial prelate whom he had painted twenty-three years before when praying for victory over the Turks, now adoring the Virgin for his success. A comparison of these two pictures shows the immense gains of their author in dignity, harmony, and unity of conception. The Virgin is seen enthroned in a magnificent temple, attended by Sts. Peter, Anthony, and Francis, and a knight bearing the laurel-decked standard of the Church; while the members of the Pesaro family kneel below, arrayed in rich brocades, and bearing portrait faces. This grandiose work is still kept in the Frari Church at Venice, where it had a profound influence on Paul Veronese and the artists of the sixteenth century.

The terrible sack of Rome by the Imperial army took place in 1527; and among the artists who fled from the ruined city were Sansovino

and Sebastiano del Piombo, who took refuge at Venice. Aretino commended them to the Marquis of Mantua, striking bitterly at the prevalent taste of the Italian noblesse with his statement that Sebastiano could produce pictures "that should not represent any thing holy." This unsanctified artist soon returned to Rome; but Sansovino remained in Venice as the architect of St. Mark's, and gained a close intimacy with Titian and Aretino, which continued for nearly thirty years.

After Raphael's death, his school was disgraced by Giulio Romano, who designed a series of obscene pictures, which Marc Antonio engraved, and Aretino furnished with descriptive verses. The indignant Pope imprisoned Marc Antonio; but Romano escaped to Mantua; and the fugitive Aretino became secretary to the free-lance Giovanni de' Medici, after whose death he entered the Doge's service, and also became the secret agent of the Gonzagas. Within three months he had won the lasting friendship of Titian, and became his closest friend, teaching him many artifices of diplomacy and statecraft. This remarkable man was born out of wedlock, at

Arezzo, and never went to school. He was taken up by Agostino Chigi, the wealthy Roman banker, at whose house he met Romano, Sansovino, Sebastiano, and other eminent men, and soon became a satirical poet and pamphleteer, steeped in all vices, treacherous and intriguing, wielding a venal and libellous pen which dripped with poison, and selling his services to whomsoever would bid highest among the princes of anarchical Italy. He boasted of living "by the sweat of his pen;" and having discovered certain of the secret springs of contemporary politics, and many hidden family histories, he laid nobles and sovereigns alike under tribute, so that he was called "the Scourge of Princes."

In June, 1527, Titian sent portraits of Aretino and the Envoy Adorno to the Marquis of Mantua, who returned a friendly answer, saying, "I thank you, and shall hold these pictures dear for your sake. . . . When I can I shall ever be ready to do you a pleasure, and always be disposed and inclined to consult your wishes."

Now for many years Francesco Vecelli had been in his noble brother's studio, and had executed several famous pictures for rural churches

besides a "Resurrection" for the Doges' Palace. Ridolfi pretends that Titian became jealous of his increasing power, and persuaded him to abandon the study of art; but this statement has no foundation. When his father died, in 1527, Francesco left the Venetian studio, and occupied the old cottage at Cadore; carrying on a desultory commerce in corn and timber, and eking out his income by painting a few pictures. To his home Titian often came to escape the baleful heats of the lowland summers, and to rest and grow strong in the arms of the great mountains. Let us follow his annual route, as sketched in detail in Gilbert's fascinating "Titian's Country:" Crossing the Lagune by gondola to Mestre, he rode across the great Venetian plain to Treviso, rich in the works of Giorgione and Pordenone, where he had a pleasant house. Twenty miles beyond he passed Conegliano, and advanced over the white road into the Ceneda Hills, among which he had a pretty villa, near the later home of his beloved daughter Lavinia. He never passed Ceneda without pausing to study and admire the beautiful "Annunciation" in the Nunziata Church, which his old fellow-student,

Previtali, painted before his brief life was ended. By the grim towers of Serravalle, he entered the Alpine pass, and ascended by the gloomy Lake Morto, and the mountain-walled Lake of Santa Croce, below the Government timber-reservation of the Consiglio Forest, in which he is said to have made prolonged studies of trees and woodland scenery. The Val di Mel soon opened on the west, with its soft rural beauty and richness, whose fascinating landscapes influenced his art-scenery more than any other region. He executed several fine pictures here, in the sister-cities of Belluno and Feltre, and in Mel and Zoppè. Among the oak-forests near Casteldardo he was wont to amuse himself in hunting birds; and some of his best landscape studies were made about the sequestered mill of Colontola, three miles from Belluno. Here he sketched many of the quaint and angular dolomite peaks, resembling sword-blades or sharp-hewn timber-slabs, which appear in the backgrounds of some of his great pictures. The Cadore road passed near the west end of the vale, and ascended the savage defile of the Piave towards the ponderous Marmarolo, which is called "Titian's Mountain."

Beyond the dark glens of Longarone, the traveller at last entered the Vale of Cadore, and approached the quiet hamlet and frowning castle of Pieve, in "the territory always very faithful to the most serene Republic of Venice."

On one of his journeys toward Cadore, the master sketched a fine picture of a summer squall; showing a dark wind-driven cloud sweeping across the landscape, which is flecked with light and shade. Other visits to the Vale were made, to prepare sketches for the picture of the Battle of Cadore. In 1527 he ascended to the remote Alpine hamlet of Zoppè, and painted the altar-piece which is still preserved there, though great offers have been made for it. At another time he was long delayed by a winter-storm at the adjacent village of Santa Lucia, in the Val Fiorentina, and rewarded the hospitality of the curate by painting for him a fresco, representing Death surrounded by symbols of earthly vanity.

Titian still continued his intimacy with the Duke of Ferrara, to whom he made frequent visits, ascending the Po by barge. In January, 1528, he painted three pictures at Ferrara, and complained that he only received one hundred

ducats for them, when they were worth that amount each.

Early in 1528, the Brotherhood of St. Peter Martyr desired to obtain a new altar-piece, representing the death of their patron saint; and it does not appear that they regarded any Venetian artist as paramount, for they invited the preparation of competitive designs. Palma Vecchio, once Titian's friend and guide, but now his opponent, was one of the unsuccessful aspirants; and Pordenone suffered the same fate, and henceforward cherished a malignant hatred towards his former leader, who was victorious in the competition. Titian won the award, and was engaged for two years on the picture. He was at this time strongly influenced by the traditions of Florentine art, which Michael Angelo had moulded into Sebastiano's style. Sebastiano del Piombo, who had dared to compete in coloring with Raphael himself, remained at Venice throughout the year 1528, and was probably in close communion with Titian, who had been his fellow-pupil in earlier years, in Bellini's studio. Sebastiano returned to Rome in March, 1529, but was soon succeeded by Michael Angelo, who fled

from Florence to Venice in the autumn. On his way he stopped at Ferrara, and expressed to the Duke his admiration of Titian's pictures in the palace of that city. The influence of the great Tuscan is seen in the important picture then on our artist's easel. Vargas, the imperial envoy, once found him painting with a brush "as big as a birch-broom," and was told that he was determined to work in a manner different from that of Raphael or Angelo, and avoid the ignominy of mere imitation.

Titian remained at Ferrara during the first half of 1529, and was attended by a retinue of five persons. In March he spent a fortnight at Mantua, to whose prince he bore a flattering letter from Duke Alfonso, speaking of his valuable services, and desiring that he should be allowed to return as soon as possible.

"The Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr" was completed late in 1529. It was one of the highest efforts of the artist, and showed the saint prostrate beneath his assassin, with his companion flying in terror, while overhead swayed the branches of an Alpine forest of gloomy and majestic trees. The figures were grand, mobile, and

natural, Angelesque without strained conventionalism, and the composition was broad and imposing. Cellini, Rubens, the Caracci, Reynolds, and the chief artists of succeeding generations, made it an object of close study and profound admiration; and the government enacted that any one who should dare to remove it should be put to death. In 1867 art suffered an irreparable loss by the burning of this picture, together with the chapel in which it was kept.

In the winter of 1529–30 great festivities occurred at Bologna, when Pope Clement crowned the illustrious Emperor Charles V., and secured for Italy peace at the price of liberty. Titian's patron, the Marquis of Mantua, was with Charles throughout this joyous time; and Vasari says that his secret agent, Aretino, secured the invitation of the artist to Bologna, where he executed a splendid portrait of the Emperor, and received a thousand scudi as a guerdon.

During the spring Titian sent to Mantua a portrait of the Marquis, which was placed beside Raphael's earlier portrait of the same prince. With this was sent the "Madonna del Coniglio," a refined and elevated work, which is now at the

Louvre. It shows a charming group, composed of the Virgin seated on the grass, with her hand on a white rabbit, while the superbly dressed St. Catherine stoops down, with Jesus in her arms, to allow Him to see the rabbit. The background is a rich and picturesque North-Italian landscape. The Marquis showed his gratification by conferring a benefice on Titian's son Pomponio, who was then five years old. The noble patron was himself raised to the rank of a duke, by Charles V., during the same year.

During the summer Titian was sent to Bologna to paint the portrait of La Cornelia, with whom the imperial secretary had become enamoured while attending his master's frequent visits to the Pepoli Palace, during the recent festivities of the coronation. With the view of conciliating the powerful Covos, and thus winning political power, the Duke of Ferrara determined to present him with a portrait and a bust of his *innamorata*, and accredited Titian to the Countess Pepoli as a gentleman and a rare and excellent painter. But the project failed utterly; for the sculptor angrily withdrew when he found another artist also commissioned to portray his subject;

and the fair Cornelia herself fell sick, and was removed to Nuvolara. The summer-heats of the inland city soon prostrated the artist also, and he returned to Venice in a bad condition.

Titian seemed to love his Alpine cottage and his sea-girt studio with an equal affection, and to feel restless and uncomfortable when duty called him to the inland cities of the plains. In several instances his enforced visits to the interior had been terminated by illness, which compelled him to return to the coast in great haste; yet there is no record of his voyaging on the sea, and he promptly declined the Emperor's invitation to cross the Mediterranean to Africa. There is a tradition that he once visited Spain, but it is not supported by authentic proofs, and has been ignored by his later biographers.

CHAPTER VI.

Death of Titian's Wife. — Removal to Casa Grande. — Pupils. — Magdalens and Minor Works. — Visit to Charles V., who ennobles Titian. — La Bella.

In August, 1530, Titian was thrown into mourning by the death of his wife Cecilia, an event which was the greatest sorrow of his life. He had been unable to attend to his work during her illness, and grieved deeply and sincerely. He was comforted as far as possible by his friends and associates, but long remained disconsolate and plunged in deep melancholy. At last he took the motherless children, and hastened to the Vale of Cadore, to seek peace among the ennobling Alps; and here he dwelt for several months in the house of his brother Francesco. To this period of seclusion are referred the comparatively inferior pictures in the churches of Candide, Vigo, and Vinigo.

On returning to Venice, he brought his sister Orsa from Cadore to take care of the three young

children, — the new-born Lavinia; Orazio, who was to be educated as a painter; and Pomponio, who had been destined for the Church, and had received the sinecure-benefice of Medole from Gonzaga. It would perhaps have been better if Titian had labored as strenuously to teach the boy his own honorable calling.

At this time Titian abandoned his old studio on the Grand Canal, and occupied a new house in the rural north-eastern part of the city, a region of pure air and of wide lawns, marshes, and gardens. It was a tenement in the Casa Grande, which had been erected in 1527, and was occupied by several families. The gardens were laid out along the Lagune, over whose long levels the island of Murano was seen, with the Ceneda hills beyond, and far away in the north the stately peak of Antelao, rising over the Vale of Cadore. Here, away from the noise of the city, and in view of his native Alps, the great master found a sweet and congenial home. The Casa Grande is still standing, in a remote quarter of Venice, but has been whitewashed and modernized, and shut out from the view of the Lagune by recent buildings. It was formerly much

visited by art-pilgrims, but was greatly remodelled in 1863, when the famous old tree in its garden, which dated from Titian's time, was cut down.

Among the students who labored here under Titian's direction were Bordone, Palma Giovine, Bonifazio, Moretto, the elder Bassano, the three brothers Schwarz from Germany, and the Fleming Calcar. The engravers Cornelius Cort and Domenico delle Greche were added to this company, and dwelt in the house. With shrewd business ability, and somewhat of unscrupulousness, the master winked at the practice of his pupils copying his pictures, and afterwards retouched their feeble imitations, and sold them as his own.

During the autumn Titian sent to the Duke of Mantua the finished portrait of La Cornelia and a copy of the "St. Sebastian" of the Brescia altar-piece; and during the next spring he forwarded him a picture of St. Jerome, representing a rugged old man kneeling before a rude crucifix in a wild mountain-land. This work was broadly treated and richly colored, and was frequently copied, the subject being then fashionable. The Duke requested that Titian should paint him a Magdalen, "as beautiful but as tearful as possi-

ble," for a present to the Marquis of Guasto, a high official of the imperial court. This work was carefully executed and sent to Mantua within six weeks, and was duplicated for the Gonzagas. The Magdalen was a favorite subject with the master, and he boasted that he had made over two thousand scudi from it, and found difficulty in supplying the rapid demand, even with the aid of his pupils and assistants. The general type is that of a nude young woman, with finely rounded limbs and well-modelled figure, handsome face, and streaming golden hair, and the white splendor of the entire form thrown into bold relief by a dark and lonely background. The Magdalen is distinguishable from Venus only by her upturned face and tearful eyes, and otherwise is equally alluring and more orthodox.

In answer to Titian's complaints, the Duke of Mantua sent him the papers of Pomponio's benefice; and the master, still under Aretino's servile influence, returned a letter full of adulation and humility. He declined an invitation to visit the Marquis of Guasto at Correggio, and hastened to finish the votive picture of the Doge Gritti, showing St. Mark bringing Gritti and three saints

to the Virgin. This picture was lost in the conflagration of 1577. Aretino ordered a picture of St. John the Baptist, which he sent to Stampa, the imperialist commander at Milan, and the favorite of Sforza, the Duke of Milan, whose confidence Aretino wished to gain. He repaid his friend's labors by securing him new orders, and by judicious advertising in his writings, where he praised him as "the only rival of Nature."

About this time Francesco Vecelli made his usual winter visit to Venice, and dwelt with Titian while engaged on the great frescos of San Salvador. He still continued to paint pictures for the churches of Friuli, and always welcomed Titian gladly during the months when sunshine dwelt among the Alps.

Resta and Ticozzi state that Titian visited Correggio at Parma about this time; but otherwise it is uncertain whether he ever met that grand artist, whose silvery radiance he seems to have borrowed. Correggio and Titian were married in the same year, and gave the same singular name to their eldest sons. Titian and Aretino were both acquainted with Lotto, Correggio's

disciple, and his patron, the wealthy Andrea Odoni.

During the summer of 1532 the master visited Ferrara, and sketched the profile of Ariosto for an engraving in the "Orlando Furioso." He painted for the Gonzagas a gazelle which had been imported into Venice from Egypt, and engaged for them a scene-decorator, who bore the singular name of "the peaceful painter."

We now come to one of the most brilliant episodes in Titian's life. In the autumn of 1532, after the Turks had been repulsed, the Emperor Charles V. rode into Italy to receive the homage of her princes, and check the hostile Gallican intrigues. His retinue was less splendid than the French embassies, but its members were men of high cultivation and lovers of art and literature. The great Charles himself was an enthusiastic collector of art-treasures, and visited all the masterpieces in the churches and studios. At Mantua he admired the Duke's collections of armor and paintings, and especially the portraits by Titian, whom he presently desired to paint his own portrait. The Duke wrote the following note: "Messer Tiziano, I should be very glad

to have you near me, and beg as hard as I can that you come hither as quickly as you are able, which will do me a singular pleasure." This pressing summons was not heeded by the artist, who hastened to Bologna, and entered into direct relations with the Emperor and his court.

In 1533 Charles V. sat to Titian for a portrait representing him as bareheaded and clad in armor, the first sketch for which is now in England. Another portrait, now at Madrid, shows the Emperor in a splendid gala-dress, but with all his traditional homeliness of pallid skin, red beard, long chin, upturned nose, and protruding lower lip, with redeeming calm blue eyes and a broad forehead. This work was finished at Venice, and copied for the Duke of Mantua. The sculptor Lombardi carried Titian's paint-box at the sittings, in order to see the Emperor, and furtively made a relief-portrait of him on a tablet of wax. The vigilant sovereign observed him slipping this work into his sleeve, and demanded to see it, upon which he praised the execution, and ordered it to be reproduced in marble.

In May, Titian was overwhelmed with dignities, in a patent issued by the Emperor, creating him

a Count Palatine of the Lateran, of the Aulic Council, and of the Consistory, and a Knight of the Golden Spur, with the powers of appointing judges and notaries, legitimizing natural children, entering the imperial court, and other high privileges. His children were made nobles of the Empire, with the honors due to families with four generations of ancestors. The Emperor recited, that whereas Alexander of Macedon had appointed Apelles as his court-painter, and Octavian had chosen the most eminent of Roman artists, so also he rewarded the exquisite skill of the Apelles of his time by giving him the highest honors. After this time Charles never sat to any other master; and for every portrait that Titian painted he received a thousand scudi in gold.

Among the nobles in the imperial retinue was the veteran Marquis of Guasto, who had been summoned from the command of Lombardy, the year before, to meet the advance of the valiant and merciless Turks in the Danubian provinces of Austria. He returned victorious, and engaged Titian to portray his farewell to his wife, the lovely Mary of Aragon, whom Cupid, Victory,

and Hymen are endeavoring to console. This rare work is famous for its sweetness of tone, rich harmony of tints, and deep solemnity of expression. Its allegorical style was repeated in several other pictures painted by the master about this time, introducing portraits of his patrons and their wives or mistresses, attended by symbolical figures. Two of these are now in the Vienna Belvedere.

Another of the luminaries of the Bologna conference was Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, recently the legate in command of the Italian musketeers, who joined the Christian princes in repelling the Turkish advance on Vienna. He was averse to priestly honors, to which he was elevated by his kinsman Pope Clement VII., and preferred literary dilettantism, and the splendors of non-belligerent military life. Titian painted his portrait in armor, which has disappeared; and also the celebrated portrait now at the Pitti Palace, showing him in the brilliant costume of the Magyar chieftains of Hungary, with a smooth bronzed face, crafty eyes, and the clear-cut Medici features. Ippolito urged the artist to visit him at Rome, but the invitation was not then accepted.

The Emperor was now to decide whether the cities of Modena and Reggio, held by his troops, should be given to the Pope, or to Alfonso of Ferrara, and resolved to avail himself of the desires of the latter prince to secure certain rare pictures from his gallery. Titian was chosen to indicate the best works among these treasures of art, and selected four masterpieces from the Ferrarese gallery, which were delivered to the Emperor. Alfonso's agents were pressing the artist to hurry the completion of new pictures then due to their master.

In the summer of 1533 Titian returned from the heated inland cities to his studio and gardens in the breezy northern suburb of Venice, and thriftily invested the profits of his labors at Bologna in an estate near Treviso, which he bought from the Benedictine monks. He was aided by the influence of the Duke of Mantua, and gave a picture of Christ as part of the purchase price. He also painted the altar-piece which is still in the Venetian Church of San Giovanni Eleemosinario, on the order of the Doge, who had recently reconstructed the building. It represents St. John the Alms-giver, Patriarch of

Alexandria, richly arrayed and enthroned, giving a purse to a ragged beggar at his feet; and combines the rugged grandeur of Michael Angelo's style with gorgeous coloring and unsurpassable technical skill.

Though Charles V. and Francis I. were bitterly antagonizing each other with hostile leagues of Italian states, Venice and her children refused to adhere to either, and made money out of both. The Emperor bid for Aretino's poisoned pen with a life pension; the French King sent him a golden collar; Cardinal de' Medici presented money and rich gifts; and Alessandro de' Medici offered him the Strozzi Palace at Florence. The unblushing parasite published a play in which he praised with equal voice these hostile princes and their gifts, and lauded also "the glorious Titian." With a similar disregard of the fitness of things, Titian painted three portraits of Francis I., the deadly enemy of the Emperor who had filled his studio with wealth and honors. These pictures were reproduced from French medals; and, of the two which remain, one is at the Louvre, showing the gay sovereign before his fortieth year, with

his small eyes, pointed nose, broad brow, heavy jaw, fleshy cheeks, bull neck, and close-cropped black beard.

The portrait of Isabella d'Este, Duchess of Mantua, was copied by Bordone, Rubens, and many other masters, and is now in the Vienna Belvedere. The lady was at this time old and wrinkled, but caused Titian to copy a picture taken when she was in the flower of her beauty, arrayed in a superb costume. The portrait at the Pitti Palace called "La Bella di Tiziano" represents an unknown patrician maiden of rare dignity and beauty, with rich auburn hair, bewitching lips, and serene eyes which look out of the picture. "The Mistress of Titian," in the Hermitage Palace, is a picture of a beautiful girl scantily clad in an ermine-lined pelisse. A similar picture at the Vienna Belvedere is the same which the Duchess of Buckingham exchanged with King Charles I., probably for something less pronounced in suggestion.

The Duke of Urbino, a relative and frequent guest of the Mantuan Gonzagas, was now living at Venice, whose armies he commanded. He purchased a "Magdalen" and a portrait of Fran-

cis I. from Titian, and had him paint a "Venus" which tradition claims as a portrait of the noble Duke's *innamorata.* This picture is in the Florentine Tribune, and shows a consciously nude woman, gracefully reposing on a ruby-colored damask couch, and colored with the richest effects of art.

In 1534 the Cadorine Council sent an embassy to Venice to secure the restraint of Zeno, the captain of their castle, from unlawful trading; and Titian's influence with the Doge insured its success. The master's constant generosity toward Cadore was repaid by the steady friendship of its people.

CHAPTER VII.

At Milan. — Duke of Urbino. — Bembo. — Aretino, and Titian's Son. — The Council punishes Titian. — "The Battle of Cadore," and Minor Works. — Titian's Guests.

In 1534 Charles V. brought about a marriage between the aged and decrepit Duke of Milan and Christina of Denmark, who was then twelve years old; and the couple entered Milan with pompous ceremonies. Titian painted their portraits, and was rewarded by a canonry for his hopeful son Pomponio, and a promise of a pension from Naples.

In the autumn Alfonso of Ferrara and Pope Clement VII. died; and Paul III., a patrician of the brilliant Farnese family, became Pope. Ferrante Gonzaga was introduced to the studio by the Duke of Mantua, and ordered two pictures. The papal nuncio at Vienna invited Titian to visit Cardinal Glöss at the episcopal palace of Trent; and the master was again vainly summoned to Rome by Cardinal de' Medici, whom

Aretino called "a prince in the disguise of a cardinal, who scented more of the purple than the frock." The triumvirate of friends, Titian, Aretino, and Sansovino, had now admitted to their close intimacy the architect Serlio, the cameo-carver Anichini, and the philosopher Spira, and conducted their respective works in frequent disregard of the Doge's wishes.

When Charles V. embarked on the expedition in which he conquered Tunis and humbled Barbarossa, he desired Titian to follow and portray his battles; but the master preferred to remain among the comforts of fair Venetia and Cadore. His generous patron, Cardinal de' Medici, started on the African campaign, but was poisoned on the way by his cup-bearer. Most of the studio-work this season was done for the Duke of Mantua, and included the long-lost picture of Christ.

After his African victories, the Emperor passed in triumph through Sicily, Rome, and Florence, to the camp of his lieutenant, De Leyva, who was about to invade France. The Duke of Mantua and Titian crossed Lombardy, and joined the imperial retinue at Asti, in Piedmont, where the artist became acquainted with Gaztelu, afterwards

the envoy at Venice, Perez, who corresponded with him from Valladolid, and other Spanish grandees.

The new Duke of Ferrara, Ercole II., kept up friendly relations with the studio, and royally recompensed the master for his new portrait of the late Duke, painted to replace that which the Emperor had taken. Guido Rangone, the papal general, and his agent Comitolo, were now intimate with the triumvirate; and Aretino had sold his venal services to France for a large annuity. He warned Alessandro de' Medici to beware of "the steel and poison of treason," but in vain, for that prince was murdered during the next month.

The master was now on good terms with the world, and extended his domestic establishment by leasing the whole of the spacious Casa Grande. Here he painted splendid portraits of the Duke and Duchess of Urbino. The former was a dashing and valiant prince, who had been educated at the chivalrous court of France, and won his duchy at the point of the sword. He was now generalissimo of the crusade of Germany, Spain, Rome, and Venice, against the Turks; and was

depicted in burnished armor, with a short and wiry figure, gaunt and bronzed cheeks, and keen black eyes. His Duchess, Eleanora, sister of the Duke of Mantua, and ruler of Urbino during his warlike expeditions, was portrayed with a slender and stately figure, in rich apparel, delicate features, and lustrous eyes with long lashes.

Pietro Bembo, the foremost of Roman literati, had retired to Padua in 1522, and made the richest collections of pictures and antiques in Europe. He did not renew his ancient intimacy with Titian, either because he was offended on account of the master's refusal of his invitation to Rome, or because his warm friendship with Raphael and Angelo caused him to look slightingly on North-Italian art. Yet he remained on friendly terms with the great Venetian, who painted his portrait about this time, showing a high forehead, gaunt cheeks, an aquiline nose, and a long beard.

Early in 1537 the Duke of Mantua sent Titian rich presents, and engaged him to paint portraits of twelve Roman emperors, which were copied from antique busts in Bembo's museum, and medals in the Mantuan collections. This series

became very popular, and was copied by Caracci, Campi, and others. The Mantuans were indignant when the originals were shipped to London in 1628. The English Commonwealth presented them to the Spanish ambassador, and most of them have disappeared.

In the autumn Aretino devised an ingenious scheme to aid Titian to get the money due from the Emperor, and caused him to send to the Empress the picture of "The Annunciation," for which the nuns of Murano had refused to pay the price of five hundred scudi. Charles returned a present of two thousand scudi, and sent the picture to Spain, where it disappeared. The details of this shrewd transaction were published in an open letter from Aretino to Titian.

The three Vecelli children were now growing apace, under the care of their aunt Orsa. In November, Aretino wrote a playful letter to "Pomponio Monsignorino," closing thus: "It is time that you should return from the country, where there is no school; . . . and, now that you are twelve years old, you shall write some exercises in Hebrew, in Greek, and in Latin, which will astonish the doctors, as the pictures astonish

the artists of Italy, which are painted by Messer your father."

Standing without a rival in Northern Italy acknowledged as the prince of colorists, and master of the subtle secret of portraying nature without revealing his processes, Titian was now entering the full-fruited autumn of his glorious life. The results of his many years of close study and earnest contemplation were about to be displayed in all their fulness. The delicate finishing of his earlier pictures was replaced by a grander and freer execution, more impressive in focal effect, and more realistic in breadth of design. Aretino illustrated the rapidity with which he had learned to work, by saying that he could execute a portrait as quickly as another could scratch an ornament on a chest.

In 1537 the Council of Ten sharply decreed that whereas Titian had for twenty years enjoyed the revenues of his brokership without rendering due service in return, he should be compelled to refund the eighteen hundred ducats which he had thus received. The dismayed artist knew that this was impossible; and immediately set to work in the Hall of the Great Council, hoping to pla-

cate the Government by his diligence. But the Council had already found a more faithful painter in Pordenone, whose earnest and careful labors had adorned many churches in Friuli, and won him a wide fame in Northern Italy. Ten years before, he had been beaten in a competition with Titian; but his subsequent experience and his superiority in fresco-painting, together with his recent success in decorating the Golden Hall of the Library, made him a formidable rival. He had also been ennobled by the King of Hungary, and was socially equal to his great colleague. Pordenone was appointed to paint a panel adjacent to that on which Titian was working.

Acting thus under the double stimulus of a successful rival and angry patrons, the master executed the great picture of "The Battle of Cadore," which was burnt in 1577, but is remembered by several copies and engravings. It showed a body of Venetian knights charging across a stone bridge, and routing the hostile Germans in a general *mêlée;* while rolling flames rose over the Castle of Cadore, on the rearward crags. The figures were of life-size, and were full of strong action and grand realism. Rubens

made a drawing of the principal group, which is preserved at Vienna. During his visits to Cadore to make sketches for the battle-ground scene, Titian found his countrymen quarrelling with the men of Belluno about boundaries, and secured for Sansovino the commission of visiting the disputed territory on behalf of the State.

In the summer of 1538 the master went to Pesaro with the Duke of Urbino, who was slowly dying from poison administered by emissaries of France, then in league with the Turks. He worked on the portraits of the emperors, for Mantua, and made two likenesses of the Sultan Soliman, from medals. From this time also date his portraits of Gen. Savorgnano and of the noble old veteran Giovanni Moro, a soldier of the Venetian fleet. His renewed attempts to get his dues from Naples, and to have the obnoxious tax removed from Pomponio's benefice, were fruitless; and Aretino's letter to the Pope, asking him to invite Titian to Rome, was unheeded. Several princes had defied Aretino; and a swarm of satirists was assailing him, one of whom, Franco of Benevento, insulted Titian in the open street, and then wrote a sonnet praising him for

painting Aretino's portrait, to show to future ages the quintessence of the infamy of the century. But Aretino mercilessly scarified and silenced his adversaries by malignant letters, which he printed and scattered broadcast.

In 1539 the Council of Ten restored the broker's patent to the master; and the sudden death of Pordenone left the patronage of the Republic to be engrossed once more by its most eminent painter. Pietro Lando was elected to the dogeship this year, and his official portrait was executed by Titian. The Marquis of Guasto, the imperialist governor of Milan, and a great favorite of Charles V., was present at Lando's coronation, and ordered the artist to make his portrait in the act of addressing his troops. Titian confided to the Marquis his financial troubles, and secured from him a new canonry for Pomponio. During the same season he painted portraits of Agostino Lando, the agent of Parma, and Cardinal Bembo, the latter of which is now in the Barberini Palace at Rome.

"The Presentation in the Temple," now in the Venetian Academy, was one of the master's most gorgeous works, and one of his largest, being nc

less than twenty-five feet long. It shows the child Mary ascending the steps of a splendid temple, with Joachim and Anna below, the venerable high-priest in the portico, and groups of Catholic prelates and senators. Venetian art, rising from rude Byzantine votive pictures to the study of the antique and of perspective in Bellini and Giorgione, in this picture reaches one of its points of culmination. A contemporary work was "The Angel and Tobit," which is still kept in the Church of San Marciliano, and shows a glorious angel advancing towards the awe-stricken youth.

In August, 1540, the Latinist Priscianese was present at a "bacchanalian feast" of delicious viands and precious wines in Titian's beautiful home at Casa Grande, in company with Aretino, Sansovino, Nardi, and other leaders of the cultivated society of Venice. The visitor describes their discussion over the pictures in the studio until the heat of the afternoon had passed, and their enjoyment of the large and pleasant gardens. "This part of the sea, as soon as the sun went down, swarmed with gondolas adorned with beautiful women, and resounded with the varied har-

mony and music of voices and instruments, which till midnight accompanied our delightful supper."

Such feasts were common occurrences at Casa Grande, where it seems that the household expenses must have been large enough to render necessary Titian's tireless efforts to secure his just dues from the imperial pensions.

In 1540 the master earned an organ to add to his luxurious surroundings, by painting the portrait of Alessandro, the organ-maker. This was followed by portraits of Vincenzo Capello, a naval officer; Elisabetta Quirini, the beautiful sister of the Patriarch; the Duke and Duchess of Mantua, for a present to the Count Palatine of the Rhine; and Don Diego de Mendoza, the imperial envoy, a wealthy young noble who expended great sums on art and the fair sex. All these pictures have long since disappeared, together with scores of other paintings by the great master, whose loss is now deplored by the world.

CHAPTER VIII.

At Mantua and Milan. — The Academy. — Vasari. — Paul III. and the Emperor. — The Farnese Family. — Northern Journeys. — Portraits.

LATE in 1540 Titian attended the funeral of his generous patron, the Duke of Mantua, one of the noblest and most intelligent princes of Italy, who had helped Raphael, Titian, Romano, and many other artists. After the solemn ceremonies at Mantua, the artist-count visited Cadore, where he gave a notaryship to one of his kinsmen.

All the triumvirs were now engaged by D'Avalos, the Marquis of Guasto. Sansovino made a bronze statue of St. Catherine, and Aretino wrote her biography; and these were sent to the Marchioness at Milan, during the winter. In the spring Titian finished his admirable picture of the Marquis, in burnished armor, addressing a company of halberdiers. The artist received a pension of fifty scudi a year for this work, which is now at Madrid.

During the summer Charles V. entered Milan in grand state, with a brilliant retinue of prelates and nobles, being on his way to prepare the imperial fleet for the attack on Algiers, under the Prince of Salerno. Titian was present at these ceremonies, bearing letters from Aretino to several eminent nobles, and having with him the D'Avalos portrait, and a "Nativity" for Torniello, which was destined for the Novara Cathedral. He painted several portraits here, and was rewarded by the Emperor with an annuity of one hundred ducats from the Milanese treasury.

In October Titian was again settled in Venice, leading a merry life with Aretino, Sansovino, and their new associate, the bookseller Marcolini. These gentlemen were the leaders of "The Academy," a cheerful club of congenial spirits which often met at the studio in the Casa Grande, and at Aretino's palace on the Grand Canal. At the carnival the brilliant company of the Calze played Aretino's new comedy of "Talanta," with scenery painted by Giorgio Vasari, who had been brought to Venice for the purpose. Titian was pleased with this work, and introduced the young artist to the princely Cornaro

family, for which he had just completed a picture of the late Catherine Cornaro, Queen of Cyprus, with the attributes of a saint. Several replicas of this favorite portrait are now in England.

The votive picture of the Doge Lando has disappeared; but the portrait of the daughter of Roberto Strozzi still adorns the Strozzi Palace at Florence. She was then in her tenth year, with a round face and curly hair, and a dress of white satin. On seeing this picture, Aretino wrote, "If I were a painter, I should die of despair. . . . Certain it is that Titian's pencil has waited on his old age to perform its miracles." The Strozzi were then the richest family in Italy, and devoted their energies to opposing the Medici at the point of the sword, and to the patronage of art and letters.

In 1542 Titian produced his own portrait, now in the Berlin Museum, showing a grand and powerful face, with a high forehead, bright and spirited eyes, a finely-cut nose, and a gray beard and moustache. A similar portrait is in the Uffizi Gallery; and an earlier one is in the Vienna Belvedere. Several others are now in England, showing the master and his friends;

but their authenticity is doubtful. Veronese and Palma Giovine also portrayed his features in certain of their great frescos.

Titian now found a new Mæcenas in Duke Guidobaldo II. of Urbino, the Venetian commander-in-chief, who divided his time between his sea-port of Pesaro and his palace at Venice, where he held court with the Duchess Julia. Here he received the leading statesmen, literati, and artists of the republic, among whom passed the colloquies which Sperone published. Titian was the idol of this august coterie, as Raphael was of Castiglione's "Cortigiano;" and in one of the dialogues Tullia said: "I hold Titian not to be a painter, — his creations not art, — but his works to be miracles; and I think that his pigments must be composed of that wonderful herb which made Glaucus a god when he partook of it, since his portraits make upon me the impression of something divine; and, as heaven is the paradise of the soul, so God has transfused into Titian's colors the paradise of our bodies."

In March, 1542, the thrifty artist bought a mill in the Vale of Cadore, and speculated in grain,

replenishing the Cadorine magazines for municipal bonds. On his return from the north he met at Conegliano the Medicean partisan Vitelli, who had been acting as a general of the Holy Roman Empire against the Turks. Aretino exchanged laudatory letters with this dashing free-lance, and recommended him to have Titian paint his portrait.

When Alfonso d'Este and Federigo Gonzaga died, in 1534 and 1540, our artist lost his noblest patrons; but in 1542 he was taken up by the Farnese family, who for many years honored themselves by advancing his interests. The head of this illustrious house was Pope Paul III., whose natural son married an Orsini, and had five children, — Alessandro, who was made a cardinal in his fourteenth year; Vittoria, afterwards Duchess of Urbino; Ottavio, who married the daughter of Charles V.; Orazio, the husband of a princess of France; and Ranuccio, who became Archbishop of Ragusa in his thirteenth year, and cardinal a year later. While the latter was studying at the University of Padua, under the Patriarch of Aquileia and the philosopher Leoni, he was induced by Cardinal Bembo to

have his portrait painted by Titian. The two pictures in the Vienna Belvedere, called "A Young Jesuit" and "St. James the Elder," probably represent Ranuccio and Leoni. The Patriarch was highly pleased with this work, and urged the master to enter the Pope's service, offering a new benefice to his son. He loved Venice too well to leave it willingly; yet paternal affection moved him to make a personal sacrifice for the benefit of the worthless Pomponio, and he consented to join the household of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese at Rome.

In 1543 the master executed the canvases now in the Salute Church, showing Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac, the murder of Abel, and David's victory over Goliath. To these were added "The Descent of the Holy Ghost," "The Four Christian Fathers," and "The Four Evangelists," where Titian gives his own portrait in the face of St. Matthew. In these great figures the master is thought to have surpassed Michael Angelo, and displayed all the life of the Florentine without his statuesque formality.

Charles V. was now menaced by the Protestant princes, while his armies had been defeated by

the Moslems at Algiers in 1541, and at Pesth in 1542, and the Turks and the French were menacing Italy. He visited the peninsula to confirm his alliance with Pope Paul III., who met him at Brusseto Castle, attended by forty-two cardinals and bishops, and demanded the duchy of Milan for his grandson Ottavio. Titian was summoned hither by the Pope, and was the guest of Cardinal Farnese, whose Roman receptions united the chief devotees of art and letters. He executed a fresco representing the meeting of the Emperor and Pope; and was cordially received by Charles, who gave him a medal from which to make a portrait of the Empress, and praised his works to Aretino. This inveterate courtier, bewailing the change from a gliding gondola to a jolting horse, and declaring that he would never leave Venice again, had reached the presence of the Emperor, who treated him right urbanely. Paul III. offered Titian the lucrative position of the seal of the papal bulls, then held by Sebastiano del Piombo and Giovanni da Udine; but the noble-hearted old man declined an arrangement which would deprive two brother artists of their support.

At this time Titian painted a wonderful por-

trait of the Pope; a gray-bearded prelate with a tall and gaunt figure, high forehead, bleary eyes, and thin lips. Here Flemish minuteness is combined with Venetian richness of coloring, and true Titianesque breadth of execution. Another remarkable picture was that of the Pope's vicious son, Pier Luigi Farnese, Duke of Castro, with his oily skin, sensual lips, and treacherous eyes. Cardinal Farnese's portrait shows a downy-chinned youth in rich robes, before a violet curtain. These pictures are now at Naples, with numerous copies elsewhere, and other portraits of the same persons by the master.

Titian returned from Brusseto to Bologna, and staid until midsummer with Cardinal Farnese, who promised him the benefice of the Abbey of San Pietro in Colle. The Archbishop of San Severino resisted this grant; Farnese suddenly left Bologna with a fever; and the anxious artist returned home empty-handed.

Once more in his comfortable rural studio, the master began the great "Ecce Homo," where the suffering Saviour is exposed to an angry crowd, and guarded by Pilate, who has Aretino's face, while the turbaned horseman below is a por-

trait of Sultan Soliman, and his steel-armored companion is Alfonso d'Este. It was painted for the son of Martin vander Hanna, a wealthy Brussels merchant who had spent his money freely for the Empire, and, after being ennobled by the King of Bohemia, had settled in a palace on the Grand Canal at Venice. Henri III. tried to buy the "Ecce Homo;" and in 1620 it was sold to the superb Duke of Buckingham, who refused an offer of thirty-five thousand dollars which the Earl of Arundel made for it. After Buckingham's murder, his son sold it for a small sum to a canon of Brussels, whence it passed, by Prague, to the Vienna Belvedere.

About the same time Titian painted "The Assumption," a harmonious and dignified work, now in the Verona Cathedral. It shows the serene and adoring Virgin rising on the clouds, with the startled apostles grouped around the empty tomb. Later in the summer he painted an altar-piece at the hamlet of Castel Roganzuolo, near Ceneda and the coveted Abbey of Colle. The villagers found difficulty in raising two hundred ducats to pay for his work, and gave him a stone cottage on the hill of Manza. This sweet rural nook

became a favorite resort of the master, and commanded a noble view of the Julian Alps, the broad and village-studded plains towards the Adriatic, and the distant campanile of Venice itself. The picture here painted has disappeared; and its place in the forlorn little church is now occupied by one of Orazio Vecelli's paintings.

Unhappy Italy was now again under the harrow of war; and the invading French army had defeated and slain the Marquis of Guasto at Cerisole, while Charles V. had marched into France, attended by the Papal Legate, Cardinal Farnese. After peace was declared, Titian endeavored to renew his connection with the Cardinal.

In October the master finished the portraits of the Empress, and forwarded them with a courtly letter, attended by another from Aretino referring to Titian's unpaid claims on Naples and Milan. These portraits were carried by Charles V. from Brussels to his retirement in the Convent of Yuste, after his abdication, and were afterwards copied by Rubens. One of them remains in the Madrid Museum, and shows a richly

dressed lady of about twenty-five, with a grave and sad face. It was one of the Emperor's dearest treasures, and he asked to see it while he was on his death-bed.

New efforts were now made by the Academy to have Titian paid for his works at Bologna; and he and Aretino wrote extravagant letters to Cardinal Farnese, and induced Ranuccio to do the same. They also wrote to Michael Angelo, praising his work, and seeking his aid. Gualteruzzi, Ottavio Farnese, Cardinal Bembo, and others at Rome, were in like manner bombarded with letters about Pomponio's sinecure.

In 1545 Titian painted six portraits of members of the Duke of Urbino's coterie, including the Duke and Duchess, Morosini, Sperone, Corvino, and Barbaro, who became Patriarch of Aquileia and patron of Veronese and Palladio. The portrait of Aretino, in the Pitti Palace, shows an audacious face, massive forehead, large dark eyes, and gray-streaked beard. Its subject upbraided Titian for the imperfect finish of the picture, and then sent it as a present to the Medicean Duke of Florence.

CHAPTER IX.

Titian at Rome and Florence. — Lavinia. — Three Venuses. — Journey to Augsburg. — Portraits of Sovereigns and Nobles. — Return to Venice.

AFTER the Council of Trent, in 1545, the Turk and the Gaul were at peace with the Church and the Empire; and the Farnese Pope, Cardinal, and Dukes were concentrated at their vast Roman palace. They wished to add the attractions of art to the lustre of their princely court, and earnestly invited Titian to join them. Quirini urged him to accept, and placated the Duke of Urbino for the loss of his favorite; and in September Titian and his son Orazio journeyed with the Duke's retinue through Ferrara to Pesaro, whence they passed to Rome under the circumstances indicated in Aretino's letter: "Titian bids me adore the Duke of Urbino, whose princely kindness was never equalled by any sovereign; and he bids me do this in gratitude for the escort of seven riders, the payment of the

journey, the company on the road, the caresses, honors, and presents, the hospitality of a palace which he was bid to treat as his own."

He was warmly received by the Pope and Cardinal Bembo; and Cardinal Farnese gave him a suite in the Belvedere Palace, and appointed Vasari as his guide to Rome. That gossipping artist conducted him to the gallery of antiques, where he was greatly interested; to Raphael's tapestries, of which he made sketches; to the remarkable Farnesina frescos, which he affected to believe were carved in stone; and to the Vatican Stanze, where he severely reproved Sebastiano for his presumptuous restoration of the great Raphael's works. He derived much benefit from these studies, and expressed a regret that he had not visited Rome twenty years sooner. Michael Angelo said that he would have been a paragon if he had learned in his youth to design better; and Sebastiano declared that he might have produced masterpieces if he had come to Rome forty years earlier, and studied Angelo, Raphael, and the antiques. But their ideals of illuminating chaste Florentine designs with gorgeous Venetian coloring could never have been realized.

Angelo visited Titian at the Belvedere; and Perino della Vaga, Sebastiano, and Vasari, though fearing lest he should compete with them in the Vatican decorations, were too politic to show their alarm. The master made strenuous efforts for the rich prize of the Abbey of Colle, for Pomponio, but other claimants forced it into abeyance. The new Doge Donato allowed him to remain at Rome; and released his friend Sansovino, who was in prison for building the new Library so poorly that it fell in and caused a great loss to Venice.

During his Roman sojourn Titian painted a Venus, a Magdalen, an Ecce Homo, and portraits of the Pope and his son, Margaret of Austria, and Cardinal Farnese's daughter Clelia, all of which have disappeared. Of the two pictures which remain, one is an admirable portrait of the Pope and his grandsons, the Cardinal and the Duke of Castro. Though the artist was domiciled in his palace, the decrepit old Pope would give him but few sittings, and his portrait is inferior to the others, the meditative Cardinal and the crafty Duke. Paul is shown as turning irritably toward the latter, with whom he

was displeased for envying his father's elevation to the dukedom of Parma.

The other picture, frequently copied, and now at Naples, is a luscious and sensuous delineation of the beautiful Danaë, outstretched on white cushions, and covered only with a veil, while from a brilliant cloud close above a shower of gold pieces is falling. Herein Titian surpassed even Correggio's portrayal of the classic tradition, in unapproachable color and grand breadth.

In the summer of 1546 the master returned by Florence, where he inspected the treasures of Tuscan art, though the Duke, Cosimo de' Medici, declined to have his portrait painted in the glowing Venetian manner. He probably visited Piacenza, and delineated its careworn and struggling Duke, Pier Luigi Farnese, who was slain by the imperialist assassins a year later. He was soon gladly welcomed by Aretino and his friends at Venice, and began fresh efforts with Cardinal Farnese and others to secure Colle for his son. But the Pope had joined the league against the Protestants, and the Cardinal was his legate with the German armies, while Ottavio Farnese was levying Italian troops for the Danubian cam-

paigns; and Pomponio received no new resources for the debaucheries with which he disgraced his ecclesiastical position.

The venerable artist was consoled by the affection of his honorable son Orazio and his beautiful daughter Lavinia, the graceful and golden-haired maiden whose portrait he painted so often as a fruit-bearing Flora or a Salome, or in other forms. Her rich portrait now at Dresden was executed in 1546, and was copied by Rubens and many other artists.

He was now engaged on "The Descent of the Holy Ghost," for San Spirito; the official portrait of the Doge Donato; and a breathing portrait of the valiant Giovanni de' Medici, painted from a cast of his dead face, for Aretino. The Italian troops in Germany, after the wars with the Protestant Saxon league, were terribly scourged by fatal diseases in their winter-quarters at Ulm; and Cardinal Farnese returned to Venice, where he frequently visited Titian, and ordered new pictures.

In 1547 Vittoria Farnese married the Duke of Urbino, by whose aid Titian secured the fat Roman office of the Piombo, Sebastiano having

vacated it by death. In the mean time, the industrious and earnest young Orazio Vecelli had married, and brought his bride to dwell at Casa Grande. The master now produced an altar-piece for the church of Serravalle, showing the Madonna in heaven amid shining cherubim, with stately figures of Sts. Peter and Andrew below. This picture has been praised as combining the power and serenity of Michael Angelo with the dainty grace of Raphael and Correggio, and shows the effect of its author's studies at Rome and Florence.

The "Venus and Adonis" was painted at this time, and shows the undraped queen of love reclining in a beautiful landscape, and reaching towards the departing Adonis, whose lithe and moving figure is clad in a hunter's suit. This theme was frequently reproduced in Titian's studio, and several copies are in English galleries, the original being at Alnwick Castle. The "Venus and Cupid" in the Uffizi Gallery shows the white goddess in all the throbbing color and rounded grace of nature, calmly reclining on a velvet couch, with red curtains in the background, and a distant gleam of Alps in evening light

The handsome little Cupid is whispering to her, and at her feet a dog sniffs at an owl. The Venus of Madrid is a similar figure, toying with a lap-dog, with a man playing an organ at the foot of the couch. This brilliant picture probably represents a patrician and his mistress; and was duplicated frequently, together with the Uffizi Venus.

The contrast between the voluptuous Cyprian goddess and the heart-broken Man of Sorrows is world-wide; but it was easily endured in those days of corrupt Italian society, and a church governed by bastard cardinals. So we find Titian supplementing his fleshly Venus-pictures by portraying the "Ecce Homo" of Madrid, showing the mournful bent head of Christ, bleeding under its crown of thorns. This work was done on slate, and presented to Charles V., after a copy had been made for Aretino. "Christ at Emmaus," another picture of 1547, was given by Contarini to the Republic, from whose palace it passed to the Louvre. It shows the Saviour blessing the food as He sits at table with the reverent and wondering Cleopas and Luke, while a dog and cat are bickering below. One of the

numerous copies of this work is now in Lord Yarborough's gallery.

During the next winter Charles V., victorious over the Protestants, but annoyed by the Pope's intrigues with France, convened the Diet of the Empire at Augsburg, and summoned Titian to attend him there, sending a supply of money and an outfit for the journey. The artist was then about to enter the service of Cardinal Farnese, from which he straightway implored to be released, surrendering the office of the Piombo, and preferring the splendid imperial court to the emoluments of Rome. Influenced by the Duke of Urbino, the Cardinal gave his consent, and added a richer favor by confirming to the lucky artist the long-promised sinecure of the Abbey of Colle. The Venetians hastened to secure new paintings from their favorite master, believing that he would never return from beyond the Alps; but he retained his choicest compositions, which he carried to Augsburg, and sold to great advantage. He crossed the mountains in mid-winter, though in his seventieth year, and settled in the coldest town in southern Germany. The Count della Torre sent a letter to Cardinal

Madruzzi, commending him as "the first man in Christendom, whom I ask you to treat as you would myself, and who is coming at the Emperor's bidding to do work for his Majesty." He took several young assistants, including Cesare Vecelli, the son of his father's cousin. Charles doubled his pension on Milan, and ordered its payment; and Catani introduced him to the eminent Bishop of Arras.

Augsburg was then a walled imperial city, with ancient and imposing churches and abbeys, and a broad main street lined with frescoed palace-fronts. Titian already knew the Fuggers and others of its merchant princes, who owned estates in Venice; besides several nobles of the imperial court, whose lustre then illuminated the quaint old city. He wrote to Aretino about the recent suppression of the liberties of the city, as well as of the Emperor's gracious reception and his portrait, with his design of endowing Aretino's daughter Austria.

Titian's portrait of Charles V., now at Madrid, represents him as he rode into the battle of Mühlberg, on the Elbe, where he defeated the Protestant league, and captured the Electors of Saxony

and Hesse. He is riding a fine chestnut horse towards the gray river, and wears chain mail and burnished armor inlaid with gold; while his gaunt and emaciated face and keen black eyes are lighted with the fire of battle. Another portrait shows him robed in black, and sitting before a hanging of golden damask at the angle of an open stone court. The cold and saturnine Charles, tortured with gout and asthma, was accustomed to dine in moody solitude, eating enormously, and afterwards listened to the jests of his courtiers with imperturbable Castilian gravity. He was called "the ghost of a Kaiser;" but his iron will and fiery intellect were not a whit weakened by physical sufferings, and he held the great sceptre right worthily.

The portly and choleric Elector John Frederick of Saxony was held in captivity near the Emperor's home at the Fugger Palace, and stood out stubbornly against the demands of Granvelle and the Diet. Titian painted two portraits of him, one of which remains, showing a ponderous figure, with bloodshot eyes and an apoplectic face marred by a wound received at Mühlberg, yet bearing a true princely mien.

Chancellor Granvelle's portrait at Besançon shows a white-bearded noble in state costume, with the chain of the Golden Fleece. Of an obscure family of Franche Comté, he had risen to the highest administrative post in Europe, and was called by Charles his "bed of rest," since he so wisely regulated the imperial policy. With his vast wealth he built a palace at Besançon, and filled it with masterpieces by Titian, Correggio, Leonardo, Dürer, and others, which were afterwards sold by the heirs of Cardinal Granvelle.

Another fine portrait represents Cardinal Madruzzi, Prince-Bishop of Trent, who bore to the Pope Charles V.'s order prohibiting the removal of the great Council of Trent to Bologna. This picture is preserved by the Cardinal's descendant, Baron Salvadori of Trent.

Among the notabilities assembled at the Diet of the Empire, Titian painted many portraits, several of which perished when the Palace of Pardo was burned in 1608. These pictures included the warlike King Ferdinand, who rode into the battle of Mühlberg alongside his brother the Emperor; Ferdinand's daughter, the Duchess of Bavaria, and her four sisters; his sons, Maximil-

ian and Ferdinand; Philibert Emanuel of Savoy, the prospective son-in-law of the Emperor; Maurice of Saxony, clad in armor; the valiant and sanguinary Duke of Alva; Granvelle, Bishop of Arras; two minor portraits of the Chancellor; Mary, the Queen-Dowager of Hungary; Dorothy, the Countess Palatine; Mary Jacqueline of Baden; the Lady Christine; Nicole, the Chancellor's wife; Pirrovano, and Cattani. He also painted pictures of Prometheus, Sisyphus, Ixion, and Tantalus, at the order of Queen Mary.

In October Titian went to King Ferdinand's palace at Innspruck, where he painted a group of the princesses Barbara, Helena, and Joanna, and received permission to cut lumber in the Tyrol for his buildings.

On his return to Venice, his friends received him with great joy, and the Academy held sessions of jubilee in Aretino's palace. But Orazio had been baffled in seeking the Milanese pension; and the master made a winter journey to Milan, where he met the Crown-Prince Philip, the Duke of Alva, and Cardinal Madruzzi, but failed to get the moneys due from the Senate.

CHAPTER X.

Titian's Family. — Second Visit to Germany. — Pictures for the Imperial Family. — The Doge Venier. — Death of Aretino. — "St. Lawrence."

THE year 1549 was filled with domestic troubles for our artist. Pomponio was in the vortex of a life of dissipation, and drew heavily on the paternal estate, disregarding the entreaties of his father, and laughing at the upbraidings of Aretino. The venerable Orsa died during the year, removing the main-stay of the family, whom Aretino called "sister, daughter, mother, companion, and steward of the household." Lavinia's marriage with her lover, Cornelio Sarcinelli of Serravalle, was postponed at this time, because her father was unable to secure the Milanese pension, and could not provide her dowry. She was installed as chief of the studio-household; and the master portrayed her in the rich picture now at Berlin, robed in flowered yellow silk, and holding a silver dish heaped with fruits and flowers. Lord

Cowper's picture of Lavinia is almost equally beautiful.

Titian had recently bought the land about the Casa Grande, and embellished his gardens and house. The large hall of the upper story formed an admirable studio, accommodating the numerous canvases under contract, and the minor works of the students. The most notable of the few pictures of this year was a design showing the ingulfing of Pharaoh's army, which was engraved by a Spanish pupil in the studio.

In 1550 France and the Empire antagonized each other in the papal election; and when the former appeared to have won, Aretino, eager to get a cardinalate, wrote to King Henri II., and besieged Bonnivet, the French envoy, with attentions, also inducing Titian to paint his portrait. Suddenly the imperial interest became paramount, and Aretino used Titian's influence with Charles V. and Granvelle to further his ends.

The master was now summoned again to Augsburg, and bore with him the "Mater Dolorosa," which Charles afterwards carried to his convent-cell at Yuste. It is one of the most emotional of paintings, showing intense grief in its wan face,

straining eyes, and hard-wrung hands. The moody and sickly Emperor was now meditating abdication, and had long and earnest conferences with his artist about a penitential picture for his retirement.

The captive Saxon Elector had been allowed to form a little Protestant court, in which was Lucas Cranach, who painted for him every afternoon. The decay of German art was visible in his crude commonplaces; yet Titian treated him with great courtesy, and allowed him to paint his portrait.

The reason of Titian's summons was to secure a portrait of Prince Philip of Spain, an ill-shaped, ugly-faced, and gloomy-hearted youth of twenty-four, who was already showing the evil traits which brought on Spain the disasters of the Armada and the loss of the Netherlands. His father was then urging him as his successor to the imperial crown, and the crafty Prince was affecting the bluff manners of the Germans. The first portrait was a large full-length, in damasked steel and white silk, with a face whose habitual gloom is skilfully disguised as thoughtful gravity. It was sent to London when Philip was arranging

his marriage with Queen Mary of England, and she was so enamoured with the picture that even her courtiers noticed her singular conduct. It was afterwards returned to Queen Mary of Hungary, and is now at Madrid, with several fine copies elsewhere. Titian also painted portraits of Philip's secretary and his favorite dwarf.

In the spring the court moved to Innspruck, where the master painted King Ferdinand and his family in a large allegorical picture. At his last farewell Charles V. gave him a Spanish pension of five hundred scudi; but this long remained unpaid, like the previous grants on Naples and Milan.

On his return to Venice, Titian was summoned before the Doge and Council, and narrated his experiences at court. They restored his brokership, which had been annulled during his absence, and the duty of decorating the Council Hall. The remainder of 1552 was devoted to a needed rest, and to the cheerful symposia of the Academy. The physician Massa once asked him about the variations in his desire to work; and the master replied that while he was eager to paint on some days, on others he could do noth-

ing. He doubted whether this was due to the influence of the stars; and Massa attributed it to the variations of the inner heat of the body.

Only four pictures were completed in 1552, three of which, St. Margaret, the Queen of Persia, and a landscape, were sent to Philip of Spain. The latter was the first so-called landscape of which the history of Italian art bears record; for painting and literature were as yet thoroughly anthropocentic. The "St. Margaret" alone remains to our day, and shows the fair and holy maiden upholding a cross before a huge dragon who emerges from an adjacent cavern. The letters attending these pictures are in the servile language of a sixteenth-century courtier, craving permission to kiss the feet of his Highness.

The portrait of the Papal Legate, Beccadelli, shows the plump prelate in an arm-chair, with a fair high forehead, heavy lips, and a pointed beard. Titian gave this official his best work, and Aretino wrote him a sonnet, since they wished him to release their Minorite confessor, who was then imprisoned for denying the divine origin of the confessional.

Early in 1553 the master sent Philip his second portrait, now in the Naples Museum, showing the gloomy Prince arrayed in the unusual splendor of a doublet of white silk shot with gold. Later in the spring the Emperor heard of Titian's death, and ordered Vargas, his envoy at Venice, to report the particulars. He denied the rumor, and narrated the great works under way in the studio for the imperial family. Besides these, which he called "poesies," Titian was engaged on portraits of Vargas and the Prothonotary Granvelle. A replica of his official portrait of the new Doge Trevisani still remains, and shows a dull and bilious face, and a gray beard falling on a lemon-colored damask robe.

In 1554 the master forwarded four new pictures to the imperial family. It is interesting to notice the tact with which he suited the diverse tastes of his patrons, and the strange facility with which his pencil was engaged at the same time on pictures of widely-opposed tendencies. To the solemn and world-weary Emperor he sent a realistic and touching picture of "The Grieving Virgin," and the great composition of "The Trinity," whose details had been elaborated in the long

conferences at Augsburg. It is resplendently colored, and shows the Virgin interceding before the Father and Son for the imperial family, whose members kneel in their winding-sheets below; while farther down is the mystic Dove, with Moses and Noah and the prophets and evangelists. It was a favorite subject of contemplation while the ex-emperor dwelt in the Convent of Yuste, to whose chapel-altar he bequeathed it. Philip, however, removed the picture and the remains of his great father to the Escurial. With these pictures Titian sent a letter to the "Most Cæsarean Majesty," complaining of the non-payment of the pensions on Naples, Milan, and Spain. He "hoped that the liberal mind of the greatest Christian Emperor that ever lived would not suffer his orders to be contemned by his ministers," and suggested that the picture of the Virgin was furnished "with a semblance of grieving which reflects the quality of my troubles."

To the aged Queen Mary of Hungary, the master sent a composition of "Christ Appearing to the Magdalene," a later version of the "Noli Me Tangere." The remains of this work were recently found in the Escurial, serving as a cover to

an oil-jar, and so mutilated that but little idea of the picture can be obtained.

To the Prince of Spain, whose many amours were scantily condoned by his rigorous church-attendance, Titian sent a "Danaë," a coarse, indelicate, and realistic work, executed with wonderful power. A fine contrasting effect is made by the wrinkled hag who sits beside the couch on which the fair Danaë is stretched, and greedily gathers into her apron the gold pieces falling from the ardent cloud. Of the numerous copies of this subject made by the master and his assistants, the best are now at Vienna and St. Petersburg. Philip rewarded Titian munificently for this work; and he sent in return the luscious companion-picture of "Venus and Adonis," which reached London in a damaged state, after the Prince's marriage to the Queen of England. It is now at Madrid, and several copies are in England.

Pomponio's shameless profligacy at last drove his father to sharp measures; and he secured the revenues of one sinecure to himself, and transferred Medole from his son to one of his nephews. To insure the favor of the people toward

his new *protégé*, the master painted for the altar of Medole a grand picture of "Christ Appearing to the Virgin Mary," showing the earnest direction of his mind when free from outside influences. Tradition says that he remained a long time at Medole, prostrated by sickness in his nephew's rectory. The villagers saved their precious picture by concealing it in a tomb during the French Revolution.

After reigning one year, the Doge Trevisani died, passing quietly away while attending mass, and was succeeded by the generous and energetic Francesco Venier, for whom Titian painted the last of his portraits of the Doges. He then prepared a votive picture, which was hung over the entrance to the Hall of the Pregadi, showing the late Doge Trevisani kneeling before the Madonna. Venier also caused the artist to paint a votive picture of the Doge Grimani, who died thirty years before, showing him in steel armor, attended by St. Mark and a Venetian standard-bearer, kneeling before a beautiful woman who bears a cup and a cross. Some say that this is an allegory of Faith; others, that the cross and cup symbolize Grimani's defeats and captivities

After working on this grand theme for four months, Titian abandoned it, for some unknown reason, leaving other hands to finish and crown it after his death.

The Prince of Spain manifested his eagerness to receive the master's latest works for him, and wrote that he should order the Duke of Alva to pay the long-withheld pensions. The "Perseus and Andromeda," and several other pictures, were thereupon sent to him at Brussels.

In 1555 the great Emperor abdicated his crowns and honors, and transferred the government of Spain and the Netherlands to Prince Philip, under the title of Philip II. Charles sought rest and tranquillity, and a fitting preparation for death, in the remote Estremaduran Convent of Yuste, where he carried nine of Titian's paintings to console the long hours of solitude by reminding of those who had been dear to him, or to stimulate his meditation on sacred themes. With a quaint love of contrasts, he had two of these pictures framed with two Flemish works by Coxcie, one of Raphael's pupils.

In June, 1555, the beautiful Lavinia Vecelli was married to her faithful Sarcinelli, a well-born

youth of Serravalle, and brought him a regal dowry of fourteen hundred ducats. The Government now chose Sansovino and Titian to name the artists for the decoration of the new Library; and they appointed Paul Veronese, Schiavone, and others. The former was a favorite of the Academy, as Tintoretto was its enemy, and, on the completion of the Library frescos, received from Titian the golden chain of honor. During the year the master painted "St. John in the Desert," now in the Venetian Academy, with a grand stern face, weather-beaten and full of passionate fire; a marvel of design and color.

About this time the Governor of Milan appointed a day to dine with Titian, who gave orders that the banquet should be prepared by his own servants, with *carte blanche*. He did not come till the next day after that appointed, when, finding the artist absent from his villa, he accused him of intentional insult, and left in high dudgeon.

Late in 1556, Titian met with a great loss in the death of Aretino, who had been his warmest friend for over thirty years. During a feast at his palace, one of the guests made such an excel-

lent joke that he burst into a fit of immoderate laughter, and, falling back, struck his head against a corner, and soon expired. It was dubiously reported that he lived long enough to receive extreme unction, and concluded his life with the impious jest: "Now that I am oiled, keep me from the rats." But of late years Aretino had passed through a great change, and had ceased to write ribaldry, and consecrated his pen to preparing lives of the saints and a paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms; so that his astonished friends at length gave him the title of "The Fifth Evangelist." Pola, however, wrote bitterly to the Governor of Milan, that "that *mascarone* Aretino has given up his soul to Satan, whose death, I think, will not displease many, and particularly not those who are from henceforth relieved from paying tribute to the brute."

Pola had been sent to investigate a supposed insult to the Governor of Milan on the part of Titian; but the master apologized, and sent his son Orazio to Milan and Genoa, on a fruitless attempt at the pension. He also relented toward his prodigal son Pomponio, and transferred to him the revenues of Sant' Andrea del Fabbro.

In 1558 Titian finished "The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence," now in the Jesuits' Church at Venice, for the sepulchral chapel of Massolo, in the Crociferi Church. It is a dark night-scene, weirdly lighted by the brilliant star at which the expiring saint is gazing, by the fire of martyrdom, and by a large cage-torch. The nude figure bound on the gridiron, and the moving soldiers about him, are delineated with an anatomical accuracy and a grandeur of composition equal to the best works of Michael Angelo. Another work of tremendous power, suggesting the classic group of the Laocöon, is the "Christ Crowned with Thorns," which remained in Milan until the present century, when it passed to the Louvre. The Saviour is shrinking under intense pain, while two powerful men press the thorns deep into His head with long sticks, and soldiers hold His bound wrists, and derisively kneel before the mock-royal robe of scarlet.

The best portrait of this period is the "Lavinia" of Dresden, showing the artist's daughter, with her full but clearly-cut face, sparkling eyes, rosy lips, and pearl-adorned chestnut hair. Her mature and finely developed figure is robed in

green velvet, with one hand holding a fan, and the other grasping her skirt.

Among the minor works of 1558, were the portraits of Rezzonico and Salvaresio, and the church-banner for San Bernardino. The portraits still exist at Milan and Vienna; and that of Salvaresio shows a travel-bronzed man, attended by a negro boy.

It is claimed that Titian added to his manifold gifts the arts of engraving on copper and wood, and of etching. The copper-plates which are attributed to him are large landscape-pictures, lightly but delicately outlined. His woodcuts were "The Marriage of St. Catherine," "Samson and Delilah," and, possibly, "The Triumph of Faith." Most of these works were executed in the earlier part of his career, before his time was so completely occupied by more brilliant works.

CHAPTER XI.

Orazio's Mischance. — Pictures for Philip II. — The Villa at Cenedа. — The Pensions. — The Dianas, Europa, and Religious Pictures.

In September, 1558, Titian's greatest benefactor, the ex-emperor Charles V., died at the Convent of Yuste, after a long and gradual decline. In his last moments he gazed lovingly at the master's portrait of the Empress, and then fixed his eyes upon his picture of the Trinity, which he looked at so long and fixedly as to alarm his physicians. Philip II. heard of his father's death while at Ghent, and secluded himself for several weeks in the Monastery of Groenendale.

Upon Philip's ordering the Governor of Milan to pay the arrears of the pensions which Charles had granted to Titian, Orazio was sent to receive the money, and was invited with great effusion to the palace of the sculptor Leone Aretino, who had been advanced in the world by his

kinsman Pietro, through his influence with Titian and the Emperor. He had wounded several men in different Italian cities, but easily made new friends, and was now living in princely style. After entertaining Orazio for a month, Leone and his servants fell upon him, and inflicted several dagger-wounds, so that he escaped to the street with difficulty, and was carried to the Falcon Inn, and attended by the Governor's surgeon. Leone had hoped to murder him, and get the two thousand ducats which he had just received on his father's account. The treacherous host was fined and banished from Milan, though Titian demanded a more rigorous punishment for him.

The master now wrote to Philip, telling of his latest pictures, and saying, "In these pieces I shall put all the knowledge which God has given me, and which has been, and ever shall be, dedicated to the service of your Majesty. That you will continue to accept this service so long as I can use my limbs, borne down by the weight of age, I hope." Philip answered pleasantly, announcing the payment of the delayed pensions. In September the pictures were forwarded, with

a long letter professing the master's gladness at serving a prince who was so "like Alexander the Great in all parts that are admirable and worthy of praise." These pictures were "The Entombment," and the two Dianas, which greatly pleased the King. The Dianas were once presented to the Crown-Prince Charles of England; and again, in 1704, to the Marquis of Grammont. They were bought from the Orleans Gallery for $12,500, and are now in the Bridgewater Collection, at London.

"Diana and Callisto" shows the chaste goddess preparing for a bath in a sparkling stream, with her huntresses about her, while two nymphs bring forward the unhappy Callisto, and expose the evidence of her guilt. Copies of this picture by the master's hand are now at Vienna, in the Roman Academy of St. Luke, and elsewhere. "Diana and Actæon" exhibits the fair huntress, clothed only with her diadem, and surprised while bathing by the young Actæon. An attendant negress strives to cover her with hastily seized clothing; and the nymphs are trying to conceal themselves from the rash and ill-fated gazer, who throws up his hands in surprise, and drops his unstringed bow.

Having satisfied Philip's sensual nature with the Dianas, it was necessary for Titian to cater also to his singular devoutness; and he painted "The Entombment of Christ." This work is as superior to the same subject executed thirty years before in realistic effect and finished expression, as it is inferior in coloring and chiaro scuro. Several careful copies were made by the master, one of which was presented by Venice to the Spanish premier, whence it passed successively to the Duke of Buckingham, the Austrian Archduke Leopold William, and the Vienna Belvedere.

These latter works were executed in Titian's eighty-second year, and are intensely realistic and exuberant, though without the mysterious sweetness of his earlier myth-paintings. They were finished with great care, grace, and *chic*, and were radiant with warm summer lights.

The master made frequent visits in these late years to his favorite villa among the grassy hills of Ceneda, where he had abundant opportunities to study the Alps and the grand phenomena of Nature, and prepare his dainty landscape-backgrounds. The villa was sold by Pomponio,

and is now occupied by the Fabbrio family. Near by, at Serravalle, Titian's daughter dwelt; and her father made a portrait of her as a young matron with child, marking the contrast of life and death by a skull in the foreground. Lavinia's house still stands, and retains traces of the frescos with which the master adorned it. In 1559 Francesco Vecelli died at Cadore; and probably his loving brother was present at the funeral, at which Vincenzo delivered a Latin eulogy. Tradition says that in Titian's altar-piece at Pieve di Cadore (most of which was painted by Orazio), the St. Andrew has the face of Francesco, and the acolyte is a portrait of the master himself.

In the autumn Titian challenged a comparison with the younger artists, by painting a grand allegorical figure of "Wisdom," a laurel-crowned and half-recumbent female figure, among their choicest works in the new Library. Early in 1561 he painted a portrait of the famous Irene of Spilimberg, who had been one of his pupils, and died at the are of twenty, in high renown for classical learning, poetical inspiration, and acquirements in music and art It is a full-length

of life-size, showing a beautiful face and richly clad figure. He also prepared a companion-picture, of Irene's sister Emilia. Subsequently he painted the great Cornaro family-portrait, showing three senators and six youths of that patrician clan, around a brown-stone altar on which the Eucharist is displayed. In 1656 Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland, bought this picture from Van Dyck's estate, and it is now at Alnwick Castle.

Titian wrote to Philip II., asking his opinion of the Dianas, and offered to paint the victories of Charles V., for which he seems to have prepared a set of designs. He also sent Philip a picture of "The Epiphany," which is now at Madrid, and has been frequently copied. It is a picturesque *genre* composition, showing the Holy Family and the adoring Magi, with officers and riders, and a train of horses and camels. In 1561 Titian complained that he had been forced to sacrifice his property, on account of the non-payment of his pension; and the Genoese treasurer paid him 2,200 ducats, as the result of the King's peremptory order. Philip asked the artist to send him a picture of the Magdalen;

and the letter of the Envoy Hernandez to his sovereign said that he was "working slowly, as is natural to a man who is past eighty," and that he was growing covetous. Of the Magdalen he wrote that "Good judges in art say that this is the best thing Titian has done." The patrician Badoer bought this picture for one hundred scudi, and the master made a copy for his royal patron. Both these have now disappeared, but several copies remain, showing a beautiful and tearful maiden, with a skull, a book, and a vase of ointment.

The "Jupiter and Antiope" shows the god in the form of a satyr, lifting the covering from the white and rounded figure of the sleeping Antiope, while unobservant fauns and nymphs appear in the meadows, amid Cadorine scenery. This glowing work was given by Philip IV. to Prince Charles of England, and is now in the Louvre.

Early in 1562 Titian sent to Philip the "Christ in the Garden," which is still in the Escurial; and "Europa and the Bull," which passed through the Grammont, Orleans, and Berwick Galleries, to that of the Earl of Darnley. He wrote to the King, saying, "I had determined to

take a rest for those years of my old age which it may please the majesty of God to grant me; still . . . I shall devote all that is left of my life to doing reverence to your Catholic Majesty with new pictures."

The "Christ in the Garden" somewhat resembles Correggio's picture of the same subject, and shows the kneeling Saviour, and the angel bearing the cup of sorrows, with the three Apostles asleep on the grass near by.

Europa is a lovely and scantily clad maiden sitting on the back of a flower-garlanded white bull, who is swimming proudly through the green sea, throwing a line of foaming surge before his breast. In the air are flying Cupids, and the nymphs on the distant shore bewail the loss of their companion.

Orazio Vecelli had settled the estate of Francesco, and Vincenzo was now retained to recover a thousand ducats which the master had loaned to the commune of Cadore. The Milanese pension was again stopped in 1563, and the diplomatic old painter painted a picture of Cardinal Gonzaga, to win his influence. Somewhat later he painted the fine portrait of himself which is

now at Madrid, with a strong and dignified mien, brilliant eyes, and snowy hair and beard. He also executed "The Crucifixion," now at Ancona; and a picture for the patrician Guido's new chapel at Ascoli, showing the Saviour imparting the stigmata to St. Francis, with Guido kneeling below. He and the helpful Orazio also painted for the lawyer Crasso's chapel "St. Nicholas in Cathedra," with the benevolent gray-bearded bishop sitting in a cathedral choir; and the "St. Jerome," now in the Milan Brera, of which a replica was sent to Philip. They also painted "The Last Supper," for the refectory of San Giovanni e Paolo, which was destroyed in 1571, when the drunken German mercenaries burnt the monastery; and "The Nativity," for the high altar of St. Mark's, which was burnt by flames from the altar-candles, in 1580. The "Venus" of St. Petersburg was the chief work of the year, and was several times duplicated. It shows the broadly-modelled and carefully-finished figure of Venus in a concentrated light, with jewel-decked golden hair and lustrous dark eyes, and sprightly Cupids placing garlands upon her.

During the summer the Duke of Urbino pur-

chased a large quantity of pine lumber of Titian and Orazio, and also ordered a set of designs for the decoration of his palace at Pesaro. The artist's letters to Philip II. speak of his work on the great pictures of "The Twelve Apostles" and "The Last Supper," and ask for the exercise of "the singular benignity and clemency" of the King to renew the Neapolitan and Milanese pensions. He would not send the pictures until the pensions were paid, and the treasurers were slow to obey the royal orders to forward the artist's dues. The Spanish envoy wrote home that "The Last Supper" was "a marvel, and one of the best things that Titian has done," adding that the artist was in fine condition, notwithstanding his great age, and ready to do any thing for money.

The Procurator Michele, with Titian, Tintoretto, Veronese, Schiavone, and Sansovino, inspected the new mosaics of St. Mark, and caused their imperfections to be corrected at the cost of the Zuccati brothers, their makers. These artists were Titian's friends, the sons of his first teacher in painting; and the cartoons for their mosaics had been designed by the diligent Orazio

CHAPTER XII.

Religious Paintings. — Vasari's Visit. — Strada. — The Vecelli Artists. — Unpaid Pensions. — Death of Sansovino. — The Plague. — Death of Titian.

On receipt of the Milanese pension, "The Last Supper" was forwarded to the Escurial, where the monks cut it down to fit their refectory-wall, against the protests of Navarrete, "the Titian of Spain." It shows a vast monumental hall with Christ blessing the food, and the Apostles earnestly conversing and watching Him and Judas, the latter of whom is rising, with the purse in his hand. Seven years were devoted to this great work, which includes thirteen life-sized figures, splendidly modelled and vigorously executed. He made several copies of it, one of which was finished by Stefano Rosa, the kinsman of his old gossip, Cristoforo Rosa of Brescia.

In the summer he again worried Philip because the Milanese pension was paid in warrants for rice, and not in gold. From September until

December he sojourned at Cadore, with his pupils Cesare Vecelli, Valerio Zuccati, and Emanuel of Augsburg, and planned the decoration of the village church.

Four pictures date from 1565. "The Transfiguration," painted for and still in the Venetian Church of San Salvadore, was his only portrayal of that subject; and shows the grand figures of Christ, Moses and Elias in the radiant air, with the three awe-stricken Apostles below. "The Annunciation," in the same church, portrays the pure face of the Virgin swept with surprise and gathering fortitude, as she gazes at the descending archangel, while above her is the Dove, surrounded by joyful cherubim. This radiant work was ill received by the purchasers; and the vexed artist answered their doubts by dashing in on the foreground the emphatic reiteration, *Titianus Fecit Fecit.* "St. James of Compostella" is the subject of another noble picture, in the Church of San Leo, with the tender face of the weary pilgrim upturned to receive the ray from heaven. The "Venus and Cupid," in the Borghese Palace, shows the white-armed goddess, rich in luxuriant hair, blindfolding the graceful Cupid, while attendant nymphs hold his bow and quiver.

In the winter Titian worked on the pictures for the new municipal palace of Brescia, and superintended Boldrini and Cort in their engraving of certain of his most popular works. He secured from the Council of Ten a monopoly of these prints, and manufactured and sent them abroad in large numbers. In May he was visited by Vasari, on a tour from Rome, who wrote that "Titian has enjoyed health and happiness unequalled, and has never received from heaven any thing but favor and felicity. His house has been visited by all the princes, men of letters, and gentlemen who ever come to Venice. Besides being excellent in art, he is pleasant company, of fine deportment, and agreeable manners. . . . Titian, having decorated Venice, and, indeed, Italy and other parts of the world, with admirable pictures, deserves to be loved and studied by artists, as one who has done and is still doing works deserving of praise, which will last as long as the memory of illustrious men." Vasari was cordially welcomed to the studio, and gave a list of its paintings, including several which have disappeared. Among them was the obscure allegory now at the Borghese Palace,

showing Minerva by the sea-side. with a shield and a red banner, and attended by a sword-bearing woman, while before her kneels a nude female figure, near a coil of serpents, an overturned chalice, and the wafer of the Eucharist. Another allegorical work, now at Madrid, depicts a goddess and a band of female warriors on the beach, while on the outer sea a Turk flies before Christian galleys.

In the autumn of 1566, Titian, Tintoretto, Veronese, Palladio, Salviati, and Cattaneo were elected members of the Tuscan Academy of Painting, at Florence.

Titian's exemption from taxation was withdrawn in 1566, and he was obliged to give a list of his property, which included the Vecelli cottage at Cadore, with several fields in the Vale, two sawmills and a meadow at Ansogne, a field and cottage at Col di Manza, eighteen fields at Milaré, a mortgage, two fields and two houses at Serravalle, and a cottage at Conegliano. Concealing his revenues from the brokership, the pensions, the lumber-business, his rich picture-contracts, and dealings with the antiquaries, he stated his annual income at 101 ducats, and

calmly spoke of "the smallness of his receipts, and the difficulty of maintaining his family."

Titian next painted a clever portrait of the Antiquary Strada, now in the Belvedere, showing an aged gentleman in red doublet, near a book-laden console and a table strewn with antiques. Strada was the chief of the versatile agents who were gathering antiques and works of art from decadent Italian families, and selling them to the transalpine sovereigns. He had received from the Emperor the title of "Cæsarian Antiquary," with the rank of Aulic Councillor, and was in close connection with the munificent Fugger family. When Strada removed to Munich, he was succeeded by Stoppio, who was on intimate terms with Titian, and repelled Max Fugger's impeachment of his skill as a connoisseur by appealing to the great Venetian.

The master had frequent dealings with these antiquaries. On one occasion he received a precious casket of silver-gilt and crystal, from the Papal Chamberlain Serpa, to be turned into ready money. The Venetian Government offered twelve hundred crowns for it; but the Duke of Bavaria secured it for one thousand ducats.

In 1567 Titian's pupils frescoed the Cadore church with their master's designs of the Annunciation, Nativity, and Assumption, with eight prophets and four evangelists. The church was destroyed in 1813. The commune paid for the frescos with lumber, which probably went to Orazio Vecelli's lumber-yard, in the Zattere quarter of Venice. Orazio was of material service to his father as a business manager and general agent of affairs. He was a busy worker in the studio, where he had received careful instruction for many years; but lacked genius, and hence attained only a certain manual dexterity. Vasari eulogizes him as a portrait-painter, but very few of his works remain to attest his skill.

Cesare and Marco Vecelli were relatives and assistants of Titian. Cesare went to Augsburg with the master, in his twenty-seventh year, and afterwards lived permanently at the Casa Grande, and prepared many pictures for the churches of Northern Italy. He was an enterprising, skilful, and shallow painter, whose relation to Titian has been likened to Giulio Romano's to Raphael. His son Fabrizio was also educated in the studio of Titian, together with Girolamo di Tiziano, another

relative who lived at the Casa Grande. Marco Vecelli, the son of Titian's favorite cousin, entered the studio in the master's old age, when he aided on numerous pictures, and executed many mediocre works of his own. His son Tizianello and his nephew Tommaso were the last and least artists of the Vecelli family, and were living when the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock.

The gay and dissipated Pomponio still led a wandering and luxurious life, nourished by his Lombard canonry, and occasionally staying for long periods at his father's house, causing no little trouble to the studio-family. Although a professional ecclesiastic, he never performed priestly duties, and yet he was once offered a bishopric.

Several pictures were sent to Pesaro and Urbino during this last decade, the two best of which are now at San Francesco di Paola, in Urbino. "The Resurrection" shows Christ rising on a cloud, while one of the guards at the empty tomb shades his eyes from the celestial light, another grasps his lance, and two more are still asleep. "The Last Supper" has been fatally injured by washing, and is nearly obliter-

ated. It portrays a square table, in an open-arched cloister, around which the Saviour and the Apostles sit in groups of threes. Two small panel-pictures of this period, representing "The Nativity," are now at Florence and Oxford.

Titian was now ninety years old; but he had not grown dull to the interests of his family, nor forgotten the arts of extracting money from obdurate patrons. He suddenly opened a fusillade of letters on his ancient and well-nigh-forgotten friend, Cardinal Farnese, imploring his intercession that Pomponio might get his pension from his Imperial grants in Spain. The Cardinal's kind answer called forth fresh letters, with gifts of pictures to him and the Pope, and prayers for acknowledgment and consolation. At the same time the venerable artist was pressing the Duke of Urbino for payment of other claims. Early in 1568 he sent to Philip II. a "Nude Venus," which has perished, and "The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence," still in the Escurial, blackened by altar-smoke. The latter was ordered for the superb convent which Philip was building to commemorate his victory at St. Quentin, on St. Lawrence's Day, 1557.

The Brescian deputies had ordered three pictures for their town-hall, showing Ceres and Bacchus, Vulcan and Cyclops, and Brescia as a serene and lovely goddess; but when they were done the citizens refused to pay the full price, and the bishop and referees justified them. The Brescians were not far from right when they declined to consider their municipal pictures as Titian's work, for they were mostly executed by his assistants. He was now too old for such undertakings; and knew it, so that when offering to illustrate the life of St. Lawrence for Philip II., he professed plainly that he should use his assistants. A subsequent letter to Philip, accompanying a poor picture of "Christ and the Tribute Money," harps on the worn-out theme of the unpaid Neapolitan grants.

The life of the master was from this time more quiet and restful; and he began to arrange his private affairs as if he were soon to depart, concentrating his emoluments on Orazio, to whom he had his broker's patent and Milanese pension transferred. Orazio's lumber-yard at the Zattere was now very lucrative, and the commune of Murano drew all its supplies from him.

In 1570 Titian suffered a severe shock in the death of his fellow-triumvir, Sansovino, who died at the ripe age of ninety-one, while Venice was in her extremest peril. Her beach was lined with batteries, and her channels were blockaded with sunken ships; for the hostile Turkish fleet, which had captured Cyprus and the Adriatic ports, was menacing the city itself.

Titian still urged the payment of the pensions; yet Philip sent him neither money nor orders, finding pressing need of his time and money against unfriendly France, the seething Netherlands, and menacing Turkey. But the superannuated artist still fought for his rights, reminding the King that he had paid him nothing for the work done during eighteen years. He sent him fresh pictures, including the large and sensuous "Tarquin and Lucretia," which has since been owned by the Earl of Arundel, King Charles I., Louis XIV., Joseph Bonaparte, and Sir Richard Wallace.

In mid-winter of 1571, Don John of Austria, with two hundred war-ships of the Holy League, destroyed the great Turkish armada in the Gulf of Lepanto; and exultant Venice celebrated the

victory with Te Deums and fireworks. She ordered Titian to delineate the battle-scene in the Doges' Palace; but he declined, and Tintoretto secured the richly rewarded commission. Philip II. sent him a design by Sanchez Coello, to be painted as a companion-piece to Charles V.'s equestrian portrait; but the master answered that while Spain had such artists as Coello, she need not patronize foreigners. Philip insisted that he should do the work, upon which he painted the spirited picture now at Madrid, showing the armor-clad King holding his babe towards a crown-bearing angel, while a bound Turk, with his star and crescent flag, kneels at the foot of the altar. At the same time, the master painted for himself "Christ Crowned with Thorns," a powerful and richly-colored work, which Tintoretto begged of its author, and hung in his studio as a model. Rubens, Rembrandt, and Van Dyck afterwards earnestly studied this masterpiece, which now adorns the Munich Gallery.

Titian still retained a high degree of vigor and health, with his ancient enterprise and heartiness, and kept his studio filled with noble paintings, where he was often visited by eminent princes

and prelates. When Cardinal Granvelle and Pacheco invited themselves to dine at the Casa Grande, he flung a purse to his steward, and bade him prepare a feast, since "all the world was dining with him." When Henri III. of France was received with royal pomp by the Venetian Republic, he visited the studio; and the delighted artist presented him with all the pictures of which he asked the price.

In 1574 he addressed the Spanish prime minister, rehearsing his grievances about the pensions; and Coello made a list of his pictures in the King's possession. This artist had visited and learned to love the venerable master. About this date he painted "Adam and Eve," now at Madrid, where Rubens copied it; and an "Eve," for which Tintoretto painted an "Adam," with a background by Pozzo, and animals by Bassano. In the winter of 1575–6, Titian wrote two letters to Philip, boasting of his great age, yet appealing to the royal justice for resources for many years to come.

But the fair City of the Sea was now crushed under a terrible affliction. The plague had broken out in 1575; and its ravages soon in-

creased so that a general panic ensued, and all who could fled to the mainland. The sick were deserted, no matter what their malady; and even family ties were powerless before the general dread of contagion. The Government established hospitals on the outer islands, and ordered the destruction of infected furniture and clothing. At last it resolved to build a votive church to the Redeemer; upon which the plague was stayed, though fifty thousand persons had died, out of a population of a hundred and ninety thousand.

Titian bargained for a grave in the Chapel of the Crucified Saviour, in the Frari Church, and then set to work on "The Christ of Pity," his latest and one of his noblest works. It was finished with pious care by Palma Giovine, who inscribed upon it the words, *Quod Titianus inchoatum reliquit, Palma reverenter absolvit Deoq. dicavit opus.* The dead Saviour is seen in the lap of the Virgin, with Joseph of Arimathea looking into His face, and the wailing Magdalen approaching, while a niche in the background contains seven lamps of crystal and statues of Moses and the Hellespontic Sibyl. On a tablet below are portraits of the kneeling Titian and

Orazio. This closing work of the grand artistic century is distinguished for profound power and tragic realism, with unequalled modelling and readiness of hand.

The plague now reached the villa of Casa Grande; and Titian expired suddenly, on the 27th of August, 1576. The Government and citizens were soon apprised of their great loss, and Venice was plunged into even deeper mourning. The law that victims of the plague should not be buried in the city churches was set aside, and the canons of St. Mark bore the artist's body in solemn procession to the new grave in the Church of the Frari. In 1852 the Emperor of Austria erected a vast and magnificent mausoleum over this sacred tomb.

Orazio Vecelli was carried off by the pestilence at about the same time as his father, and died in the Old Lazzaretto. The desolate villa of Casa Grande was entered by marauders, and shamefully plundered. When Pomponio took possession of the place, he found numerous valuable paintings in the studio, in various stages of completion.

"In every thing Titian's art was similar to nature. Milk feeds his babes; he weaves the stuffs; his animals have but just issued from the ark; and his joy and grief are alike infectious. So long as Nature lives, Titian will also live. He is the very mirror of Nature, only that the mirror reflects whilst Titian creates." — *Boschini.*

"Nature surrendered to Titian, and took its laws from his pencil." — *Ridolfi.*

"All that Titian's figures want is a voice; in all else they are Nature itself." — *Biondo.*

"In imitating Nature, Titian was unsurpassed." — *Armenino.*

"Three lives has Titian, — one natural, one artificial, the third eternal." — *Pino.*

A LIST OF TITIAN'S PAINTINGS NOW IN EXISTENCE, WITH THEIR DATES OF EXECUTION, AND PRESENT LOCATIONS.

*** *The interrogation point after a title signifies that the picture is regarded as unauthentic by two or more critics, while others accept its genuineness.*

ITALY.

VENICE. — *The Academy*, — The Assumption, 1518; the Visitation; the Presentation in the Temple, 1540; Pietà; St. John in the Desert, 1555; Jacopo Soranzo, 1522; Antonio Capello, 1523; Primo di Lezze; Nineteen Panels, showing Cherubs and Evangelical symbols. *Doges' Palace*, — St. Christopher (fresco), 1523; Madonna (fresco); the Doge Grimani and Faith, 1555. *Mocenigo Palace*, — The Saviour's Blessing. *Casa Morosini-Gattersburg*, — The Doge Grimani. *The Library*, — Wisdom (fresco), 1559. *Nardi Collection*, — Pietro Bembo, 1537. *Signor Galeazzi*, — St. John. *Salute Church*, — Descent of the Holy Ghost, eight medallions of the Fathers and Evangelists, Cain and Abel, Abraham and Isaac, David and Goliath, all done in 1542–43; and St. Mark and four Saints, 1512. *St. Salvadore Church*, — The Transfiguration; the Annunciation, 1565. *St. Sebastian*, — St. Nicholas, 1563. *St. Marciliano*, — The Angel and Tobit, 1540. *San Leo*, — St. James of Compostella, 1565. *St. Giovanni Eleemosinario*, — St. John the Almsgiver, 1533. *Gesuiti*, — Martyrdom of St. Lawrence, 1558. *Evangelical Church*, — The Redeemer (?). *Frari Church*, — The Pesaro Madonna. *Scuola di San Rocco*, — Ecce Homo, before 1500; the Annunciation, 1524; Christ Bearing the Cross, before 1517.

PADUA. — *Giustiniani Collection*, — Doge Grimani, 1522; Doge Gritti, 1523-8; Philip II., 1550; Francis I., 1533; Pietro Aretino, 1527. *Barbarigo Palace*, — Doge Barbarigo. *Scuola del Santo*, — Three frescos of scenes in the Life of St. Anthony. *Carmini Church*, — Sts. Joachim and Anna.

VERONA. — *Pinacoteca*, — Homage to Venice. *Museo Civico*, — Madonna. *Cathedral*, — Assumption, 1543. *Treviso Cathedral*, — Annunciation, 1518. *Loreto, Royal Palace*, — The Woman taken in Adultery. *Urbino, Church of S. Francesco di Paola*, — The Resurrection, and the Last Supper, late works. *Aquila, Palace Torres*, — The Eucharist. *Ascoli*, — Vision of St. Francis, 1563. *Brescia, Sts. Nazaro e Celso*, — The Resurrection, 1522. *Parma, Farnese Palace*, — Head of Christ. *Modena, Ducal Palace*, — "La Moretta." *Fano*, — Count of Montevecchio. *Lovere, Tadini Palace*, — Gabriel Tadino. *Bergamo*, — Lady's Portrait. *Zoppè Church*, — Madonna, 1527. *Mel Church*, — St. Andrew. *Belluno*, — Adoration of the Magi. *Candide*. — Madonna. *Vinigo*, — Madonna. *Medole*, — Christ Appearing to Mary, 1554. *Cadore*, — Madonna. *Serravalle Church*, — Madonna; also fresco in the *Casa Carneliutti*. *Ancona, San Domenico Church*, — Madonna, 1520; Crucifixion, 1563. *Maniago*, — Irene of Spilimberg and her sister Emilia, 1560.

MILAN. — *Brera Gallery*. — St. Jerome, 1563. *Ambrosiana*, — Epiphany; Deposition (?); *Hospital*, — Portrait of Rezzonico, 1558.

GENOA. — *Balbi Palace*, — St. Jerome. *Durazzo Palace*, — Magdalen, 1560.

FLORENCE. — *Pitti Palace*, — The Saviour; the Nativity, 1567 (?); Marriage of St. Catherine; Magdalen; La Bella di

Tiziano, 1533; Tommaso Mosti, 1524–6; Ippolito de' Medici, 1533; Luigi Cornaro (?); Philip II., 1553; the Doge Gritti; the Surgeon Vesalius, 1560; Pietro Aretino, 1545; Alfonso of Ferrara (?). *Uffizi Gallery*, — Madonna, 1511; three doubtful Madonnas; Flora, 1520; Venus, 1533; Venus, in replica; Venus and Cupid, 1547; Battle of Cadore, 1537; Duke of Urbino, 1537; the Duchess, 1537; Catherine Cornaro, 1542; Titian; Giovanni de' Medici; the Legate Beccadelli, 1552; Sansovino. *Strozzi Palace*, — Robert Strozzi's Daughter, 1541.

ROME. — *Barberini Palace*, — Cardinal Bembo. *Borghese Palace*, — Sacred and Profane Love, 1500; Cupid Equipped by Venus; Allegory, 1566; Samson; St. Dominick; and several doubtful. *Capitol*, — Three doubtful pictures. *Colonna Palace*, — Portrait of Panvinius, 1550. *Corsini Palace*, — Cardinal Farnese, 1543; Philip II.; and five unauthentic pictures. *Doria Palace*, — Three Ages; Magdalen; Allegory; Man's Portrait; Jansenius; and seven contested pictures. *St. Luke's Academy*, — Diana and Callisto (there are seven so-called Titians in the Academy, all of which are repudiated by Crowe and Cavalcaselle). *Sciarra-Colonna Palace*, — Madonna; La Bella di Tiziano; Portrait. *Spada Palace*, — The six so-called Titians here are rejected by Cavalcaselle. *Vatican Palace*, — The Doge Marcello, 1505–8; Madonna and Saints, 1523.

NAPLES. — *The Museum*, — Charles V., 1549; Philip II., 1553; Paul III. (two portraits), 1543; Cardinal Farnese, 1543; Duke of Castro, 1543; Pier Luigi Farnese, 1546; Paul III. and his Grandsons, 1545; Magdalen, 1567; Jupiter and Danaë, 1545.

SPAIN.

Madrid Royal Museum, — Ecce Homo, 1547; Christ Appearing to the Magdalen, 1554; the Trinity, 1554; the Epiphany, 1560; the Entombment, 1559; Christ Bearing the Cross; Ecce Homo; the Virgin's Repose, 1569; St. Margaret, 1552; Salome and the Head of John; Adam and Eve, 1574; Madonna and St. Bridget, 1508–11; the Grieving Virgin, 1554; Mater Dolorosa, 1550; Allegory; Venus and Cupid, 1547; Venus and Adonis, 1554; Venus, 1547; Venus-Worship, before 1518; Danaë, 1554; two Bacchanals, of 1519–20; Sisyphus and Prometheus (?); Portrait of Charles V., 1533; Charles V., 1548; the Empress, 1544; Philip II., 1550; Philip II. Presenting his Son to an Angel, 1574; Alfonso d'Este; the Marquis of Guasto, 1541; Titian, 1563; a Knight of Malta.

Escurial Palace, — Christ in the Garden, 1562; the Last Supper, 1564; the Virgin's Repose, 1530; St. John in the Desert, 1556; the Martyrdom of St. Lawrence, 1568.

FRANCE.

The Louvre, — Christ at Emmaus, 1547; Christ Derided, 1558; Christ a Captive (?); the Entombment, 1523; Madonna and Saints, 1508–11; Madonna and Saints; Madonna del Coniglio, 1530; the Virgin's Repose, 1530; St. Jerome, 1531; Jupiter and Antiope, 1562; Girl and Man with Mirror, 1523; Francis I., 1533; Marquis of Guasto and Wife, 1533; Cardinal de' Medici, 1533; Man's Portrait; L'Homme au Gant. *Sir Richard Wallace*, — Tarquin and Lucretia. 1570.

Besançon Museum, — Cardinal Granvelle, 1548. *Nîmes*,

Maison Carrée, — John the Baptist. *Rouen Museum*, Man's Portrait.

GERMANY.

Berlin Museum, — Titian; Lavinia, 1549. Seven other pictures here, claimed as Titians in the catalogue, are rejected by modern connoisseurs. *Cassel*, — Lavinia; Lady's Portrait; Cleopatra (and three others held as doubtful). *Potsdam*, — Christ at Emmaus. *Hanover*, — Two portraits (?). *Mayence*, — Bacchanal (?).

Stuttgart, — Three Madonnas, St. Jerome, the Magdalen, Shepherds, and a Young Man, all of which are repudiated by Cavalcaselle. *Darmstadt*, — Sleeping Venus, 1523; Portrait (?).

Dresden, — Christ and the Tribute-Money, 1508–11, Lavinia, 1546; Madonna and Saints; Venus and Cupid, 1563; Lavinia, 1558; Man's Portrait, 1561; and four portraits and two other pictures which are doubtful.

Munich, —Two Madonnas, 1522 and later; Ecce Homo, 1574; Charles V., 1548; Man's Portrait; Jupiter and Antiope; and five so-called but unverified Titians.

AUSTRIA.

VIENNA. — *Belvedere Gallery*, — Three Madonnas, all before 1511; Ecce Homo, 1543; Christ and the Adulteress; Entombment, 1559; St. James the Elder, 1542; St. Catherine, 1568; two Allegories, 1533; Danaë, 1554; Venus and Cupid (replica); Diana and Callisto, 1559; Suicide of Lucretia; Charles V. (?); Elector of Saxony, 1548; two Portraits of Titian; Vesalius; Salvaresio, 1558; the Antiquary Strada, 1566; Titian's Doctor; Philip Strozzi, 1540; Benedetto Varchi, 1550; Ranuccio Farnese, 1542; Titian's Mistress,

1533; Isabella d'Este, 1533; and ten doubtful or unauthenticated pictures. *Academy of Arts*, — Winged Cupid. *Sterne Collection*, — Doge Trevisani. *Rosenberg Collection*, — Doge Grimani. *Harrach Palace*, — St. Sebastian; Madonna (?). *Lichtenstein Palace*, — Battle Piece; Madonna (?). *Czernin Palace*, — Magdalen, Duke of Ferrara, and Doge Venieri (all three doubted by Cavalcaselle).

Pesth Academy, — Pietro Bembo. *Trent*, — Cardinal Madruzzi. *Gratz Gallery*, — Bathsheba Bathing. *Prague*, — Five portraits in the Kunstverein and the Sternberg and Nostitz Palaces, none of which are accepted by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, though certain other critics affirm them.

NORTHERN EUROPE.

Antwerp Museum, — The Pope Presenting the Bishop of Paphos to the Virgin, 1501. *Rotterdam Museum*, — Woman and Satyr. *Brussels Museum*, — Two doubtful pictures. *Stockholm Royal Palace*, — Cleopatra, Don Carlos, Duke of Urbino, Duchess of Ferrara, all doubted by modern critics.

RUSSIA.

Hermitage Palace, — Christ Bearing the Cross; Christ in Benediction; Madonna and Magdalen; Christ Holding the Orb (?); Magdalen, 1560; Ecce Homo; Madonna; St. Sebastian; Danaë; Pope Paul III., 1543; Venus and Cupids, 1563; Cardinal Pallavicini, 1545; Titian's Mistress, 1533; and portraits of Lavinia, Isabella d'Este, and the Doge Gritti, held as uncertain by Cavalcaselle. The same authority declines to indorse the portrait and two Madonnas in the Leuchtemberg collection, and also Lazarew's Ecce Homo and Count Stroganoff's Weeping Virgin.

ENGLAND.

National Gallery, — Noli me Tangere, 1518; Bacchus and Ariadne, 1523; Venus and Adonis; Christ and the Pharisee, 1568; the Holy Family; Ariosto, 1518; the Virgin's Repose, 1518; Madonna and Saints; Rape of Ganymede. *Mrs. Butler-Johnstone*, — St. Jerome, Madonna, Epiphany, Ariosto, and Venus, all doubted by Cavalcaselle. The late *Northwick Collection* contained a Vitellius, Vespasian, Paul III., three portraits, Danaë, Madonna, St. Jerome, and Philip II., of which all save the first are uncertified, and the last three are rejected by Cavalcaselle. *Bridgewater Gallery*, — The Three Ages, 1518; Venus Anadyomene, 1523; Diana and Actæon, 1559; Diana and Callisto, 1559. *Lord Elcho*, — A Senator; St. Sebastian; Madonna, a replica; the Resurrection of Christ, 1522–26; Venus and Adonis. *Buckingham Palace*, — A Summer Squall. *Duke of Cleveland*, — The Trinity (?). *Lord Overstone*, — The Last Supper. *Lord Cowper*, — Lavinia. *Holford Collection*, — The Duke of Milan; the Virgin's Repose, 1530; Catherine Cornaro, 1542 (?). *Mr. Baring*, — Charles V. *Earl Brownlow*, — Catherine Cornaro, 1542; Diana and Actæon; Otho; Christ Bearing the Cross (?); Navagero (?). *Late Lord Ashburton*, Magdalen, 1560; Venus and Cupid, 1563; Salome (?). There are also four pictures attributed to Titian in Lord Yarborough's collection, four at Apsley House, three at Stafford House, and four in the late Lord Malmesbury's collection. Dr. Waagen pronounces several of these fifteen pictures genuine, but Crowe and Cavalcaselle reject them all.

Oxford, Christ Church College, — The Nativity, 1567; the Saviour; the Duke of Alva (?). *Cambridge, Fitz William*

Museum, — Recumbent Venus, 1547. *Kingston Lacy*, — Savorgnano, 1537; Omnia Vanitas. *Orwell Park*, — Julius Cæsar, 1537; and two portraits, indorsed by Waagen, but rejected by Crowe and Cavalcaselle. *Burleigh House*, — Madonna, 1508–11. *Petworth*, — Three portraits. *Wardour Castle*, — Infant Christ Sleeping on the Cross. *Stoke*, — Holy Family (?). *Lowther Castle*, — Two portraits. *Castle Howard*, — Giorgio Cornaro, 1522; Philip II.; Dog and Cats. *Chatsworth*, — Philip II.; St. Jerome; Mastiff and Cubs (?); St. John (?). *Cobham Hall*, — Ariosto, 1516–18; Europa and the Bull, 1562; Christ in Benediction; two doubtful Venuses. *Longford Castle*, — Two portraits whose authenticity is contested. *Alnwick Castle*, — Bacchanal; Venus and Adonis, 1547; the Cornaro Family, 1560; an Admiral; Paul III. (?) *Hampton-Court Palace*, — Marquis of Guasto; Alessandro de' Medici; Titian's Uncle; Madonna; and nine others, held as dubious by the best critics. *Viscount Powerscourt* (*Ireland*), — A Youth.

SCOTLAND possesses several so-called Titians, all of which are attributed by Crowe and Cavalcaselle to other artists, though Dr. Waagen maintains the genuineness of several of them. Hamilton Palace has five portraits; Dalkeith, two portraits; the Edinburgh Royal Institute, three pictures; the Glasgow Museum, a Danaë; Garscube, a St. Jerome; and Longniddy Castle, a Venus.

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